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MORE

THE MEDIA MAGAZINE

Nat Hentoff:
Perils of S. 1437

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AND THEN THERE WAS ONE

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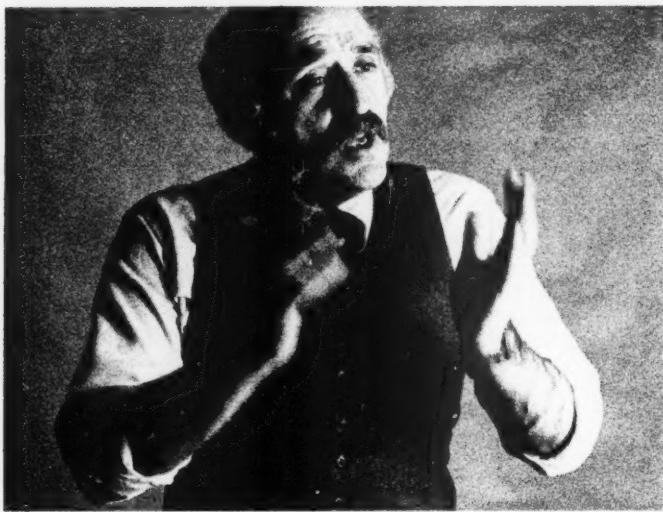
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"For more than a decade a successful nation has treated itself to a rancid feast of condemnation."



1 The Bomb that Fizzled

Thursday, May 18 at 8:30 pm

Starving people. Sick cities. Poverty. Even mass psychosis. It seems as if everything has been blamed on the Population Explosion. But did that Bomb ever go off? In the first of a 3-part series on "The Enemies of Growth" Ben Wattenberg challenges some of our most common assumptions.

2 Pig of the World

Thursday, May 25
Critics like Stewart Udall say America is ripping off the world's resources. Wattenberg discounts this gloomy view of economic and ecological panic.

3 Enemies of Growth

Thursday, June 1
Some environmentalists think vigorous economic growth is bad news. Wattenberg thinks some environmentalists are bad news. Guests: Senator Henry Jackson, Harper's Editor, Lewis H. Lapham

4 Mother, Flag and Apple Pie

Thursday, June 8
The Sixties. Long hair, communes and revolution. The Seventies. Haircuts, houses and three-piece suits. What happened? Senator S. I. Hayakawa and Ramsey Clark have different views.

5 The State of the Unions One hour Special

Tuesday, June 13, 9 pm
Unions. Liberals say they've forgotten the downtrodden. Conservatives think they strangle the economy. But where would we be without them? Guests: Lane Kirkland, Cesar Chavez, Milton Friedman, Albert Shanker.

6 Two Cheers for the CIA

Thursday, June 15
Who needs the CIA anyway? If you have to ask that, you'd better watch this. Guests: Former CIA Chiefs Richard Helms and William Colby.

7 The Totalitarian Temptation

Thursday, June 22
Is Europe drifting away from freedom? Does it really matter to us? Author Jean Francois Revel talks about the temptations of totalitarianism.

8 The War of the Intellectuals

Thursday, June 29
Many intellectuals think America has gone down the drain. Meet one who doesn't. A special interview with Norman Podhoretz. Editor of Commentary magazine.

9 Black Progress

Thursday, July 6
Despite rhetoric to the contrary, American Blacks have made remarkable strides in the last 15 years. Julian Bond, Alex Haley, Bayard Rustin and others look at the puzzle of Black progress.

10 There's No Business Like Big Business

Thursday, July 13
Big Business, the modern American villain. Has it really failed us? Or have we failed to understand Big Business? Ben Wattenberg argues with John Kenneth Galbraith.

11 The Good Guys of History

Thursday, July 20
Viet Nam shattered our good guy image. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan and Secretary James Schlesinger think it's time to put the pieces back together before it's too late.

12 Hail to the Chief

Thursday, July 27
Presidents have been called imperial — out of touch with the people. Lady Bird Johnson, Dean Rusk and William Safire disagree.

13 Worker's Lib

Thursday, August 3
Work. Boring? Meaningless? Impersonal? Ben Wattenberg says that's bunk. Guest: George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO.

"A funny thing happened on the way to the Bicentennial. The dominant rhetoric of intellectual discourse turned gloomy — surely on the left, often on the right. We have poor-mouthed, crisis-mongered and guilt-peddled ourselves half to death.

"I believe, despite what we hear these days, that the American experience has been a successful one — that it has set into motion a remarkably healthy and creative process around the world. And I believe that most Americans share that view.

"Last year, public television produced *In Search Of the Real America* as a challenge to the chorus of failure, guilt and crisis. Tonight begins a second season — now in a weekly format. The purpose remains the same — to look at America today and to separate social facts from social fiction."

Ben J. Wattenberg

Ben J. Wattenberg is the author of *The Real America* and co-author of the best selling *The Real Majority*. A former aide and speechwriter for President Lyndon Johnson, Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson, Wattenberg has helped write two Democratic Party platforms and is now Chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. He has been active as a business consultant. He is a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he co-edits the new magazine, *Public Opinion*.

In Search of the Real America Begins Thursday, May 18 at 8:30 on PBS

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THE MEDIA MAGAZINE

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By Russell Warren Howe

One of the CIA's best kept secrets used to be the funding of an international news service. A correspondent who wrote for it for 14 years offers an inside view.

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Developing nations are trying to stanch the free flow of information. An American professor, little known in this country, is their strongest advocate.

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The Perils Of S. 1437

By Nat Hentoff

The press has nodded off to sleep while Congress guts the Bill of Rights. Proposed restrictions on its own freedom are more than a bad dream, however.

Cover: Illustration by Barry Morgen

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LETTERS

HONEST REPORTER

I wasn't at *The Washington Post* during the strike. Had I been, I probably would have worked. I didn't think labor covered itself with glory in that press-wrecking debacle.

But when *Post* president Mark Meagher says in his letter to you [April 1978] that John Hanrahan can't write honestly about the strike, it makes me glad I wasn't there and didn't cross the picket lines.

Hanrahan is about as conscientious and honest a reporter as there is. I don't know Meagher, but his vindictive letter fills me with relief that I never found myself on his side.

Peter A. Jay
The Sun
 Baltimore, Md.



HOOTS AND HOSANNAS

I found the article, "The God Band: Coast to Coast with the Holy Ghost" [March 1978], by Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, to be severely lacking in straightforward critical analysis and fair treatment of a media segment. Her ability to look objectively at the religious broadcasters' convention, and evangelicals in general, is limited by her very apparent personal vendetta against this system of beliefs and lifestyles.

Harrison has made the drastic, but common, mistake of treating the evangelical community as a monolithic unit. There are certain ties that are inherent in the faith, but evangelicals are by no means of "common mind" in every respect. Harrison also is relentless in personal attacks.

Finally, she makes un-researched, unsubstantiated statements. The insinuation of racial bias is not called for. Harrison says, "But to mention the obvious, 44 black

delegates among 1200 is hardly what you'd call a crowd." (What is the norm? How have evangelicals improved in this area?)

I am not a ranting, raving, radio preacher—and I, of course, know they exist and often seem very ridiculous. However, I am very familiar with the evangelical community, and Harrison has misrepresented much of it.

James W. Jewell
 La Miranda, Cal.

I laughed my way through Barbara Grizzuti Harrison's piece on religious broadcasters. As a card-carrying, born-again Christian, I'll have to admit we do and say some silly things at times—and Harrison seems to have not missed one. Much, of course, was only in the eyes of the beholder. I cringe at what was not. I wish she were on my side.

Wayne Stayskal
The Chicago Tribune
 Chicago, Ill.

TAKING CREDIT

Your account of *The Washington Post* story involving Smith Bagley [Check It Out, March 1978] is worded in such a way as to make it appear that it was the *Washington Star* "the next day" that broached the charges against our reporter Maxine Cheshire. In fact, it was *The Washington Post* that first reported Bagley's allegations against Cheshire, and her denial, in a

sidebar accompanying the original story.

Harry M. Rosenfeld
 Assistant Managing Editor
The Washington Post
 Washington, D.C.

RIGHT TO PUBLISH

You owed your readers a disclosure that Alan Mass, who wrote the "Pontiac Strike" story [March 1978], is a member of the same Guild union local which is involved in the strike. Why should anyone assume that the story would be fair?

As much as I am flattered to have our newspaper compared with *The Washington Post*, the story is in error on some of the simplest and most easily checked facts. It is replete with sympathetic treatment of the strikers, and censors any references to the abuse which working employees have endured.

If the maintenance workers here are on strike, no one has told us so. Local 13 represents them, but 70 percent of them stayed on the job and I have never heard that a strike vote was taken.

We did not ask pressmen to "train non-union personnel." The responsibility for providing training lies with our supervisors as always.

The strike did not occur "the day before the company was due to stop honoring terms of the pressmen's last contract." The author appears to have garbled a situation involving the Guild—but in any event it is wrong. Under the law, the working conditions in an expired contract continue, pending a change.

You equate continued pub-

lication during a strike with "union-busting," as if we had no right to publish. Maybe you object to the existing labor laws, but we have as much right to publish as the unions do to strike.

Bruce H. McIntyre
 President and Publisher
The Oakland Press
 Pontiac, Mich.

Alan Mass replies: Mr. McIntyre's complaint about my membership in the Newspaper Guild Local 22 fails to mention that the local represents editorial employees at all the major Detroit newspapers, including the one I work at—which is not *The Oakland Press*. Nearly everyone who has covered the *Press* strike in Detroit is a member.

I erred in reporting that the strike began the day before the company was due to stop honoring the terms of the pressmen's contract. It was two days before the Guild contract expired. And McIntyre is correct in stating that salary and working conditions remained in force. But, before the strike, the *Press* notified the Guild in writing of its intention to terminate other provisions of the expired contract unilaterally—specifically the *Press*'s obligation to withhold union dues, to employ only Guild members in the editorial department, and to abide by arbitration of grievances.

Three maintenance workers at the *Press* who are represented by the pressmen's local are indeed on strike. The other seven maintenance workers who are not members of that union are not striking.

As for McIntyre's contention that management did not ask pressmen to train non-union personnel, I stand by what I was told by several pressmen: that the supervisor at that time was himself inexperienced and relied on experienced pressmen to teach their replacements. Nothing in McIntyre's letter can contradict the conclusion of my story: that *The Oakland Press* is out to break its unions.

CORRECTIONS

The April 1978 issue of MORE mistakenly carried a 1977 date on its cover. We apologize to our readers for the confusion.

In the sidebar to A.E. Hotchner's account of his legal battle with Random House ("A Fool For A Client," April 1978), we incorrectly reported that Hotchner lost the first round in his court fight with Mary Hemingway and that he refused to pay the legal fees. In fact, he won all three decisions in that case and did pay his share of the lawyers' bill.

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EDITED BY STEVE ROBINSON

THE RHODESIAN CONNECTION

Author Robin Moore Funds 'Embassy' To Shelter Mercenaries In Salisbury

Robin Moore's books leave no doubt as to his political sympathies. *The Green Beret* is probably the best known glorification of the U.S. presence in Vietnam, and *The French Connection* is Moore's hearty endorsement of head-knocking narcotics cops. So it's not surprising that Moore's most recent work of non-fiction, *Rhodesia*, is a paean to white minority rule.

What is unusual, though, even for Moore, is the extent to which he has been involved in aiding non-Rhodesians fighting the guerrilla forces of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. Moore has appointed himself "Unofficial Ambassador to Rhodesia," an appellation he apparently takes seriously enough to have set up his own "embassy" in Salisbury. He has made "The Crippled Eagles Embassy" home to a number of Americans enlisted in the Rhodesian Security Forces. "They frequently stay there," says Moore. "We feed them, and if a guy is wounded, we fly his mother over there." The "embassy's" chief of staff, Vernon Gillespie, was a former lieutenant colonel in the Green Berets.

Moore is also an unofficial ambassador in the United States for Prime Minister Ian Smith, working through an organization called The Crippled Eagle Foundation. The Foundation publishes a news-

Wide World



Author Robin Moore (left) bestows the seal of the Crippled Eagles on Col. Ron Reid-Daley, commander of Rhodesia's elite Selous Scouts, at Moore's Salisbury home.

letter, arranges speaking tours, and is engaged in other activities to promote the views of the Rhodesian white minority. He is also president of the American Rhodesia Association, a group which lobbies on behalf of the government of Rhodesia.

Moore's activities raise questions about the legality of his Crippled Eagle operation. Federal law makes it a felony for a U.S. citizen to enlist in the service of a foreign nation. According to one Justice Department official, an American citizen "taking care of the needs" of American citi-

zens who are violating that law could be aiding and abetting in the commission of a felony.

"If that were true," says Moore, "I guess I'd be the first one they'd want to bring charges against, but I suppose they can also get me under the Logan law." The Logan Act makes it illegal for an American citizen to misrepresent himself as a spokesman for the U.S. government.

The Justice Department's Internal Security Division would not comment on whether investigations are being conducted into the Crippled

Eagles or mercenary recruitment for the Rhodesian military.

Says Moore, "I don't recruit. The Crippled Eagles have never been involved in recruitment. A lot of people come to me and I give them information."

According to Moore, royalties from *Rhodesia* will be used to support the Crippled Eagle operation in Salisbury. The writer had been spending \$5,000 a month on his unofficial USO, but has recently cut this back to \$2,000. "Most of it has come from [his book] *The Happy Hooker*," he says.

Moore admits that *Rhodesia*, published by Condor Publishing Company, is not selling well. Moore owns 70 percent of Condor, and thus is publishing his own book. On March 29, Condor took out a \$16,000 full-page ad in *The New York Times* which asked rhetorically, "Is This Book Being Suppressed?" Moore, who wrote the ad, denounced UN Ambassador Andrew Young and "Marxist" Patriotic Front leaders Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe.

Says Moore, "I intend to take that ad all across the country.... Andrew Young is the greatest traitor that this country ever took to its bosom."

—JOHN KELLER

TEXAS TEMPEST

Odessa Paper Wilts Under DA's Heat

Nobody in West Texas questions Ector County District Attorney John Green's desire for revenge. But some critics, including a number of reporters at the *Odessa American*, have expressed dismay at the lengths to which he has gone in his efforts to get even.

Last spring, after the *American* published an erroneous report claiming that the DA jeopardized a case by tampering with a juror, and a second

story linking him with a murder conspiracy, Green filed an \$8 million libel suit against the paper. In the wake of the suit, the DA brought criminal charges ranging from election bribery and drug dealing to indecent exposure and public drunkenness against employees of the newspaper. In addition, he wrote to Lyle DeBolt, publisher of the *American*, hinting that additional indictments for newsroom bookmaking might be forthcoming.

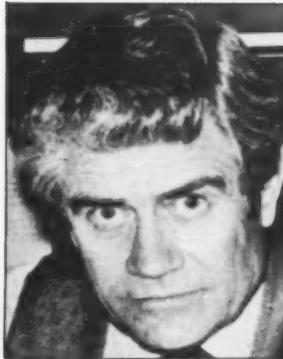
Editor Olin Ashley responded by denouncing Green's use of his office to lash out at his critics, and DeBolt backed him up. But evidence has since mounted that Green's campaign to teach Ashley a lesson has crippled Odessa's only hometown daily as a newsgathering organization.

An embarrassingly clear-cut instance of the *American*'s newfound deference toward local officeholders occurred early this year with the death of Larry Lozano, a Mexican-American inmate in the Ector County jail. On January 10, Lozano was badly beaten by sheriff's deputies in a fight that erupted following a traffic accident. Lozano died 12 days later while still in the custody of Sheriff Elton Faught, who called the death a suicide. The Odessa medical examiner attributed the death to a cerebral hemorrhage from a blow to the back of the head, which Faught claimed Lozano inflicted upon himself by banging his head against his cell wall.

Though editor Ashley was alerted early on to questionable circumstances surrounding Lozano's death, the *American*'s initial accounts gave uncritical play to Sheriff Faught's version of what had happened. Several days after Lozano's death, the San Angelo *Standard-Times*, 130 miles from Odessa, the *Dallas Morning News*, and Mark Vogler, a UPI stringer, reported allegations that Lozano had died from a savage beat-



Ector County DA John Green's (left) \$8 million libel suit has cramped the style of Odessa American Editor Olin Ashley.



ing at the hands of Faught's deputies. An independent medical examiner, hired by the Lozano family, issued a report stating that Lozano's wounds—92 bruises—were "incompatible with suicide."

The press allegations were followed by Faught's altered version of events, which had Lozano dying of suffocation after a blanket had been wrapped around his head in an attempt to subdue him. Faught acknowledged that Lozano had a history of mental illness and admitted he should have been transferred to a mental institution, as required by Texas law.

State Attorney General John Hill launched an investigation into the Lozano case. Despite a coroner's jury, which returned a verdict of accidental death after 25 minutes of deliberation on April 13, Federal civil rights investigators are contemplating action against Faught and other county officials.

Despite the new evidence in the case, turned up by out-of-town newspapers in the *American*'s own backyard, Ashley has stubbornly held to the official version of events—so much so, in fact, that local Mexican-Americans proposed a boycott of the *American* to protest its skewed coverage. Courthouse reporter Greg Watson defied an order from Ashley to ignore the Mexican-Americans' protest march, and inserted an article in the paper after Ashley had left the

office. Watson resigned when the editor chastised him several days later. "As a reporter, I feel defeated," Watson says. Ashley admits that his paper's coverage of the Lozano incident has been poor, but explains, "I've got enough battles going on, and my people are green."

One reason the editor may be right is that his staff has been decimated by the crossfire between his office and the DA's. The resignation of veteran city editor John Sliney, after Green indicted him for allegedly trying to bribe a local candidate to withdraw from a runoff election, was a bitter blow to the *American*'s editor.

Ashley now insists on control over any copy that mentions Green's name. That policy has caused at least four experienced reporters to leave the paper after many of their articles were either killed or considerably toned down by Ashley.

Ashley scoffs at the notion that the paper is going easy on Green and insists that the DA's onslaught has had "no particular effect" on the *American*'s coverage of courthouse stories. But Green himself perceives a pleasing "change in policy" at the *American*. Nevertheless, he has not been moved to withdraw his libel actions, which are expected to come to trial this summer. "They don't attack public officials anymore," says Green, with un-

disguised satisfaction, and he doesn't mean that the paper now takes greater pains to check out allegations of official wrongdoing. Rather, as the DA tells it, these days "they just don't run that sort of story."

Many former *American* reporters agree that all is now strangely quiet on that Western Texas front. Mark Vogler, now at the *Standard-Times*, says flatly that, "Freedom of the press in Odessa has become a joke."

Now that the *American* is no longer giving Green trouble, the DA is turning his attention to the *Standard-Times* for its investigative reporting on the Lozano case. On April 10, Justice of the Peace Virgil Lumpe ordered Richard Orr, a *Standard-Times* reporter, to disclose his sources on the circumstances of Lozano's death. Green says he has every intention of throwing Orr in jail if he does not comply.

—ERIC HARTMAN

BAY AREA BOMBING

Did Panthers Torch Reporter's Car?

In the predawn hours of March 26, Pearl Stewart's \$5,000 Datsun 260Z burst into flames and was completely destroyed. The vinyl seats melted down to their metal frames, and what remained of the padded dashboard could have been scooped clean with a spoon. An investigation by the National Auto Theft Bureau ruled out accidental causes such as faulty wiring. The car, which was parked in the garage of her apartment building in the fashionable Lake Merritt section of Oakland, California, had been firebombed.

Stewart, a 27-year-old black reporter for the *Oakland Tribune*, had been writing a series of stories exposing financial irregularities in the use of public funds by the Oakland-

HELLBOX

based Black Panther Party. Her revelations had led to government investigations of the Party and the loss of a government contract.

Neither Oakland officials nor *Tribune* editors have publicly linked the Panthers to the firebombing, and no one has been arrested for the crime. But *Tribune* editor Fred Dickey says flatly, "Anyone who intends this as intimidation will find that it won't work. And knowing Pearl, it won't work with her either."

Stewart is also unwilling to blame the firebombing on the Panthers. "I can't imagine anyone connected with the Panthers would be ridiculous enough to do that kind of thing," she says. The attack, she adds, may have been the work of people trying to discredit the black organization.

But Oakland police are reportedly investigating the activities of two longtime Panthers—Robert Heard and Larry Hanson—who once lived in Stewart's apartment building and might have kept a key to the locked garage. Heard is a bodyguard for Panther leader Huey Newton, and Hanson is reportedly a close aide of Newton's.

Stewart, a graduate of Howard University and a former UPI reporter in San Francisco, has been a general ass-

Kenneth Green/Oakland Tribune



Was the firebombing of Oakland Tribune reporter Pearl Stewart's car an attempt to get her off a Black Panther investigation?

ignment reporter at the *Tribune* since 1976. Her investigation of Panther finances, which began last November, disclosed that public funds may have been misused to pay the rent of some party members. She also uncovered an alleged forgery scheme which raised \$42,000 to bail Huey Newton out of jail in 1974. And she has investigated an attempted murder of a witness scheduled to testify against Newton in his trial for the killing of a 17-year-old prostitute.

In March, the Oakland City Council, spurred by these revelations, voted to cancel a contract with the Oakland Educational Opportunities Corporation, which includes several Panthers on its paid staff, for a youth program in East Oakland. The council cited "inadequate controls to assure funds are properly accounted for" as one of the reasons for the cancellation. It also pointed to "unfavorable publicity" surrounding the Panthers.

Stewart, who is looking for a new apartment, is staying with the story, and Managing Editor Roy Grimm says "there will be no change in her assignment."

"Sure, I'm uneasy," Stewart says. "I'd feel easier if I knew who did it. But reporters should not cave in to threats or violence. What happened to me indicates that maybe there's something more to find out."

—HELAINE LASKY

CHECK IT OUT

ALL IN THE FAMILY: The *Baltimore Sun* is glowing in the aftermath of its recent series on nepotism in the city's federally funded CETA program. Earlier, the paper had taken a hard line on the subject of "brazen, naked nepotism" in a March 1977 editorial calling it an "obsolete, slack-socked posture." Unfortunately, the *Sun* is somewhat of a glass house. Consider: **Gary Black Sr.** is chairman of the board of A.S. Abell Company, which publishes the *Sun* papers. His uncle and father preceded him in that post. **Gary Black Jr.** is a member of the board of directors and director of marketing and communications. The board also consists of **Harrison Garrett** and his son Robert, as well as **William F. Schmick**, who took over the job from his father, William F. Sr. The publisher is **Donald Patterson**, whose dad was a former president of A.S. Abell. **Paul Patterson**, Donald's son, is city circulation manager. The general manager is **Robert Kavanaugh**, whose father Emmet had held the same job. Emmet's stepson, **Herbert Reynolds**, is director of corporate development. There's even room at the bottom: **John Dorsey**, restaurant critic for the Sunday *Sun*, is the son of a former vice president and managing editor, **Charles Dorsey**.

RUNNING BATTLES: The market for running magazines may soon be as crowded as the Central Park reservoir track on a spring morning. A legal battle between **George Hirsch**, publisher of *New Times*, and **Robert Anderson**, publisher of *Runner's World*, was averted in March when Anderson decided to change the name of his new magazine from *The Runner*—which Hirsch said he had thought of first—to *On The Run*. The fact that Hirsch now has MCA's legal and financial muscle behind him was a key factor in Anderson's move. "The suit could have cost me 50 to 100 grand," he says. Hirsch plans to inaugurate *The Runner* in September (he previewed the magazine in a recent issue of *New Times*). Anderson printed 250,000 copies of the first issue of *On The Run* last month with 215,000 sent free to *Runner's World* subscribers. Anderson also publishes *Marathoner*, a quarterly with a \$2.50 cover price, which also debuted last month.

HIGH PROFILE: Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer* and *News* publisher **Rolfe Neill** is a highly visible figure in Charlotte these days, due mainly to his outspoken support of a controversial superhighway that will skirt the city. On Sunday, April 9, the *Observer* featured a lengthy profile entitled "Citizen Neill, His Rise From Paperboy To Publisher," a surprisingly even-handed appraisal of the boss. **Mary Bishop**, the reporter who worked on the story for three months, explained in a sidebar that part of the reason for the Neill profile was newsroom concern about the publisher's civic activities. Editor **David Lawrence Jr.**'s Sunday column, which accompanied Bishop's piece, explained that, initially, Neill felt the story "was a loser," because, "If it were 'positive,' a 'puffball,' it would look like the publisher wanted the story. If it were 'negative,' a 'hatchet job,' the impression would be of inmates running the asylum." Neill, who did not see the piece until it appeared in the paper, thought the profile was "not appropriate at this time," and that the assignment put Bishop in an uncomfortable position. Otherwise, he says, it was "basically correct."

CHICAGO IRE: The demise of the *Chicago Daily News* is having some nasty repercussions among Chicago's leading journalists. The most recent jolt was the March defection of *Sun-Times* columnist Bob Greene to the rival *Tribune*. Says Greene of the surviving Field paper which he deserted, "There was a time when the *Sun-Times* had its own era, but now that's over." The real reason for Greene's departure, according to insiders, is that he hated the idea of writing in the shadow of Mike Royko, who moved to the *Sun-Times* when the *News* folded. Says Greene, "The last thing I saw Royko quoted about me was that I was 'a despicable punk.'" Royko doesn't remember referring to Greene that way but says, "Greene referred to himself as a punk in an interview. And I merely said it was a characterization with which I would agree."

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: Discouraged by the dismal performance of newspapers in hiring minority reporters, delegates to the National Conference on Minorities and the News, held last month in Washington, proposed tactics for desegregation of the newsroom by the year 2000. The board of the American Society of Newspaper Editors joined the conference's resolution for a "rekindling" of the 1960s pledge to desegregate the industry. A study prepared for ASNE by Jay Harris of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University showed that blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians account for only four percent of all working journalists. This represents an increase from seven-tenths of one percent in 1972. But Robert Maynard, a former *Washington Post* reporter and now chairman of the Institute for Journalism Education, told the convention that equality in journalism means more than improvements in hiring. "The end we seek is justice, equality in the news—portrayal of our communities as places inhabited by real people, not pathological fragments."

I SPY II: If you enjoyed following Efrem Zimbalist Jr.'s exploits as Inspector Lewis Erskine on *The FBI*, you'll be glad to know that plans are being made to launch a TV show about the CIA. Gordon McLendon, a Dallas millionaire, has proposed a weekly series based on CIA operations abroad—not its illegal activities at home. McLendon met recently with CIA Director Stansfield Turner and David Phillips, one-time head of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. The millionaire has approached producer Fred Weintraub—whose credits include TV's *Hootenanny* and feature films *Woodstock*, *Enter the Dragon*, and *Rage*—to put together the series. Weintraub says only that his talks with McLendon have been "preliminary" with no discussion of plots or writers. The show will take "a positive approach" to CIA operations, according to an agency spokesman.

Contributors: Brian Beker, Alice Bonner, Jeff Dorsch, E. Michelle Kilbourne, Michael VerMeulen.

Paul Sequeira/Chicago Tribune



Tribune columnist Bob Greene:
Out of Mike Royko's shadow.

RIPPLE EFFECT

Reporter Fired Over Fishy Tale

The April Fools' story is a staple of small newspapers, but readers are usually let in on the joke. Not so in the case of a sports column which ran April 2 in the Erie, Pennsylvania, *Times-News*. Unfortunately, not many people laughed. The punch line wasn't funny, either: columnist Dave Heberle was fired.

Heberle, who had been freelancing the Sunday column for six years, offered a seemingly straightforward account of the banning of monofilament fishing line in Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio. It had been discovered, wrote Heberle, that the fishing line caused cancer in brook trout.

The ban, he informed his readers, had been recommended by the Environmental Protection Agency, which had just concluded "a five-year study which strongly indicated that a substance found in all monofilament line, Lauratocoxy-12 (or Lauxi-12), causes cancer in brook trout." The decision to effect the ban was described as "a lightning swift move by the Department of the Interior."

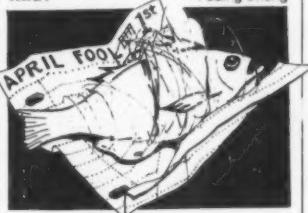
Trout season in Pennsylvania was two weeks away. "It is not known if area sports stores have enough braided line [a substitute for monofilament] on hand," Heberle wrote, "to satisfy the anticipated demand." He cautioned fishermen that \$50-75 fines were to be slapped on offenders. The last line of the story urged readers to contact "Dr. Ayer Ilfu" in Washington for more information—the only hint that Heberle might have been kidding. But either fishermen didn't read that far, or the name of the doctor didn't register.

The *Times-News*, the only

Sunday paper published in northwestern Pennsylvania, has a circulation of 94,000. The day after Heberle's article appeared, sales of braided line in many local tackle and sporting goods stores jumped to more than five times normal. One proprietor described the rush of customers on his establishment as "brutal." The largest department store in Erie completely sold out of "legal" line.

According to sports editor Frank DeSantis, there were hundreds of phone calls to the newspaper from readers, retailers, wholesalers, and state officials, who were curious about how Heberle had gotten such hot news before they had.

Fuding Cheng



But DeSantis was not amused by the reaction to Heberle's column, and fired him on the spot. "Cancer is not a funny subject," DeSantis says. "But the key thing, I guess, is that the column caused people to spend money needlessly. I'm not a fisherman, but people told me they spent 30 or 40 dollars to restrip their lines. It's a good thing it wasn't hunting season or I would have been shot."

DeSantis wrote an article the next day apologizing to *Times-News* readers for the confusion. "As in the case where you don't fool around with Mother Nature, neither do you fool around with thousands of readers who believe in you and depend on your word."

Heberle now says he "got carried away with the supporting details." References to the insidious-sounding carcinogen, "Lauxi-12," and reports that the substance had built to a "formidable concentration" in streams, rivers, and lakes, made the story

HELLBOX

sound authentic. Heberle even included a routine denial from a "spokesman from a well known line company."

"I had done April Fools' columns in the past," he says. "I never thought that this one would have such an effect." Heberle was surprised that DeSantis fired him, but he is not planning to protest the decision. "After six years at \$15 a column," he says, "I was getting ready to call it quits anyway."

—JOHN BENSINK

FALL FOOTAGE

Networks Catch Wallenda's Death

On the morning of March 22, when Norman Louvau heard that Karl Wallenda had fallen to his death from a high wire strung between two San Juan, Puerto Rico, hotels, he knew immediately that it was news. Louvau is president of WAPA, a Spanish-language television station in San Juan whose videotape minicam was rolling at the time of the accident.

Although WAPA takes programs from all three of the commercial networks, Louvau quickly decided to call Don Browne of CBS News, Atlanta, with whom he had recently worked on a bus crash story. Browne summoned *CBS Evening News* editor Peter Sturtevant out of a New York meeting, and, without hesitation, Sturtevant ordered a satellite feed from San Juan.

Within minutes, Louvau received telephone calls from ABC and NBC. Could the material be pooled? In such cases, the networks operate under rules which mandate sharing. The cost of the satellite feed, \$1,644, and WAPA's fee, \$1,000, were split evenly by the three networks and the

Independent Television News Association (ITNA), which prepared material for its ten client stations.

The producers gathered in their respective viewing rooms at 3 o'clock to see what they had for the evening shows. They saw a picture that touched some deep nerves: the innate fear of falling, man against the elements, the search for adventure and risk, the struggle with infirmities of age. At the center of all this—panoramically against swirling clouds, then in close-up—was a wizened, 73-year-old, almost mythic figure, a man countless Americans had

ABC Executive Producer Av Westin, however, thought otherwise, and, as did CBS and NBC, ABC led with a Middle East roundup. That done, the three networks went to a commercial break and came back—all three—with Wallenda.

NBC, as usual, was cautious. John Hart, in Washington, led into the Wallenda package with a stern caveat. "We owe it to you," said Hart, "to tell you that the scenes of his falling may disturb you, and certainly your children. Frankly, you might want to send them away for the next couple of minutes."

"This afternoon Gunther Wallenda said that despite his uncle's death, the act will go on."

This statement was greeted with some satisfaction at CBS. While ABC said it *will* happen, CBS had pictures showing that it *did* happen. The Wallenda family had returned to the high wire that very afternoon, a few hours after the patriarch's death, and only CBS had obtained videotape for the evening news. There was also a half-minute stretch of actuality from San Juan with local reporter Guillermo Jose Torres speaking in rapid Spanish in tones reminiscent of the Hindenburg disaster.

CBS's Ron Bonn thought a caveat was unnecessary because the viewer did not see Wallenda's impact on the ground. But he is not certain. "Maybe NBC was right," he says. "Maybe we were wrong."

NBC's Joe Angotti says he decided to start with a warning "because before we show people things like that, we ought to warn them or at least prepare them for what they are about to see."

ABC's Stan Gould does not agree. "In principle, I am opposed to that sort of thing. I don't believe in programming the news for kids. If there is a flaw in television news, it's too chickenshit in what it shows. There are all kinds of things that some people would argue are too graphic, or too disturbing, or too real. I think television news needs to present more of reality than it does. God knows, enough of television is already programmed for children's sensibilities."

As for the CBS scoop, Gould is envious. "It was a very good addition to the story. The whole Wallenda thing is that they go back all the time, no matter what. This is probably the way they all want to die."

CBS's Peter Sturtevant says, "What ABC failed to do on this story—and NBC,

Wide World



Karl Wallenda's televised death raised questions of propriety for the network news programs.

paid to see risk his life. It was a gamble which he, though not his brood, had won every time to date. And then, as clearly as in any Olympic coverage, the producers saw him fall.

"It had an emotional effect on everybody watching it," says Joseph Angotti, executive producer of the *NBC Nightly News*. "Sometimes we all have the same piece of tape," says Ron Bonn, co-producer of the *CBS Evening News*. "But nothing of this caliber, this power. This was an extreme rarity." Stanhope Gould, the producer who put together the Wallenda package for the *ABC Evening News*, says, "I would have led with it."

NBC opened with Wallenda beginning his walk, cut away for file material, and returned for the fall and death.

ABC, far from issuing a warning, opened its broadcast with a seven-second preview of Wallenda losing his balance and falling. This was on the "quad"—a four-way split-screen device with which ABC billboards its top stories. Then, before the first commercial, another tease, with Wallenda back on the high wire. After the break, ABC had Wallenda on the wire yet again. The fall came near the beginning of the ABC piece, followed by a flashback to file film. Correspondent James Walker concluded by saying,

too—is source it, make some telephone calls to find out more than WAPA was telling all of us. I think what ABC and NBC did was just rely on the WAPA script and the pictures. They said 'thank you' and hung up and took wire copy and made their story out of that. They made a basic journalistic error."

Karl Wallenda has been providing news copy in this country since he made his debut without a net in 1928. And he is not through yet. In San Juan, WAPA is preening for the awards its well-placed minicam will surely bring in. And the Independent Television News Association, the company that split the satellite fee with the networks, ran what may prove to be a popular innovation on its March 22 feed—The Great Wallenda falling 120 feet to his death in majestic slow-motion replay.

—STEPHEN BANKER

NEWSMAN BAGGED

Va. Anchorman Claims Frame-Up By Narcs

Tony Burden used to anchor his station's evening news at WVEC-TV in Norfolk, Virginia. Since December, though, Burden's on-air appearances have been confined to WVEC's coverage of his arrest and subsequent court hearings on a charge of possession of marijuana with intent to sell for profit.

Burden, who was indicted in circuit court on April 5, claims he may have been framed by Norfolk undercover narcotics agents. The suspended anchorman has had a close relationship with the local police during the ten years he has been at WVEC. He has made two documentaries about the Norfolk police, one of which contained footage of an actual drug transaction that was instrumental in the conviction of a heroin dealer.

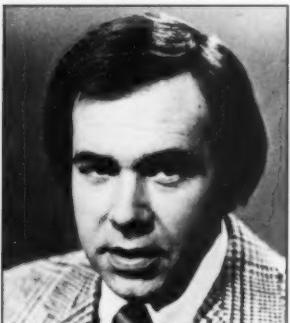
He has also taught courses

in narcotics and media relations at three regional police academies.

Last fall, Burden was working on a story about alleged police corruption involving undercover agents who were reportedly misappropriating funds earmarked for narcotics purchases, and an illegal football ticket lottery rumored to be run by several Norfolk policemen. Burden and his lawyer, Claude M. Scialdone, have suggested his reporting on these stories may have led to his being set up by narcotics agents.

Tom Chisman, president and general manager of WVEC-TV, is backing Burden, even though he removed him from his anchoring position shortly after the arrest. "Burden is not guilty of the charges against him," he says. "I believe he's been framed."

Burden, who has remained



Busted: WVEC-TV News Director Tony Burden was yanked from his anchor post after marijuana arrest.

at the station as news director, agrees with Chisman's decision to keep him off the air until his legal difficulties are over. Chisman adds, "We've had a lot of letters asking that Burden be put back on the air."

Burden was arrested on December 2, 1977, on two charges—one a felony for intent to sell for profit, and the other a misdemeanor for possession. The arrest followed a telephone conversation between Burden and Harry John Ford, a convicted

drug dealer, whose business phone was tapped by police.

During the call, initiated by Ford, the two men agreed to meet later that evening. Although Norfolk police had close to eight hours to obtain an arrest warrant based on the call, they chose to lie in wait for the men outside a restaurant Burden frequented after his broadcasts. When Burden stepped from Ford's car, seven policemen surrounded him and the anchorman was caught holding a paper bag containing just under a pound of marijuana. Attorney Scialdone

claims that the arrest constituted an illegal search and seizure, as police could not have determined the contents of the bag without first opening it.

Despite the presence of seven policemen, Ford managed to escape—a flight which Burden was not allowed to witness because arresting officers had turned him away from Ford's car. "I heard someone shout and then a shot was fired," says Burden. "The fact that Ford, who has a long history of drug dealing and who the police think gave or sold me some contraband, should make a clean getaway makes me think there was some sort of conspiracy. The shot was never intended to hit Ford. It was all part of the melodrama of the getaway."

Lewis Hurst, currently director of the Virginia State Crime Commission and the former captain of the Norfolk Narcotics Squad, says, "It's very possible Ford could have been working with the Norfolk police. You don't use seven cops for a marijuana arrest."

Ford was apprehended the day after Burden's arrest, but he failed to appear at a March 22 hearing. His \$5,000 bond, which would normally have been forfeited for jumping bail, was canceled and reportedly returned to his mother.

At the hearing, District Court Judge William L. Shapero declared the Ford-

Burden phone conversation inadmissible evidence because prosecutor Tommy E. Miller had failed to provide the tape or a transcript to the defense ten days before the hearing, as required under Virginia law. Miller later went to circuit court where, on April 5, he obtained a grand jury indictment—this time solely on the charge of intent to sell for profit. No trial date has been set. If convicted of the felony, Burden faces up to 40 years imprisonment and a \$25,000 fine.

Scialdone claims that, without a warrant for Burden's original arrest, the state has no case. The attorney believes that no judge would have issued a warrant based on the tapped phone call because, "There aren't any drugs mentioned on the tape made from the call. There's not a goddamn thing in there that's incriminating."

The prosecution and the Norfolk police flatly deny setting Burden up for his arrest, and Captain W.A. Williamson of the Norfolk Vice and Narcotics Squad says he has no knowledge of Ford ever having been an informant. "Everyone seems to think Burden was set up by Ford," says Miller. "But if I had Ford here now, I'd try to put him in the penitentiary."

Burden, who makes \$30,000 a year at WVEC-TV, is baffled by the arrest. "I've had no financial difficulties until this crap started. A pound [of marijuana] breaks up into 16 ounces, with five to ten dollars profit on every ounce. That's \$150 profit at the most. The idea that I was intending to distribute is so absurd. The risk wouldn't even be worth it with \$1,000 profit because if you got caught, you'd be paying that in lawyer's fees."

Until that matter is settled in court, however, Burden will remain in the somewhat uncomfortable position of having to assign someone to cover his own trial.

—E. MICHELLE KILBOURNE

HBJ: AND THEN THERE WAS ONE

Jovanovich Built Publishing Empire By Acquisition And Authoritarian Style

'Bloody Monday' firings leave book division decimated.

BY CHRIS WELLES

Monday morning, March 20, they were called, one by one, to the office of Executive Vice President Jack Snyder. "The department has been reorganized," Snyder told them, reading mechanically from a sheet of paper. "There is no place for you because your job has been eliminated." They were ordered to vacate the premises by 5 p.m. Guards were assigned to ensure that the deadline was met.

Thus ended the employment of Kathy Robbins, head of the general books department of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and four of her senior aides, including Editor-in-Chief J. Alan Kahn. Further dismissals came later, and the body count eventually rose past 20.

"Bloody Monday," as some have called it, outraged many in the publishing industry. Literary agents talked of boycotting the company. Bookstore buyers talked of refusing to stock HBJ books. Some people at B. Dalton, the giant bookstore chain, were said to be especially incensed because Alan Kahn had been its trade books merchandise manager before moving to HBJ last November. In a phone call to HBJ, a Dalton representative strongly hinted that it intended to carry only the best-selling books in the company's forthcoming line.

To more hardened individuals in the business, the purge seemed, if somewhat harsh in its execution, justified. For some time, HBJ's general books department has been only marginally profitable in its best years and a money loser during its worst. In 1977, according to a statement Jovanovich made to *Publishers Weekly*, it showed a deficit of about \$1.6 million. At the time of the purge, HBJ had only one book on *The New York Times'* hardcover and paperback best-seller lists.

The chairman and chief executive officer of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, William Jovanovich, is not known for his tolerance of financial deadweight. When he took over the company in 1954 at the age of 34, it had sales of only \$8 million. In one of the most impressive recent examples of individual corporate construction, Jovanovich, largely through acquisitions, has built HBJ into one of the largest and most financially successful independent publishing empires, with sales last year of

\$371 million and profits of \$18 million.

Like any effective chief executive, Jovanovich moves with dispatch to excise individuals and divisions that don't meet his standards. "Our trade division was losing money," he explained to *Media Industry Newsletter*. "If you have a four-room apartment, and one of the rooms is dirty, you clean it."

Bloody Monday, though, was not the routine display of prudent corporate sanitation Jovanovich would have everyone believe. While it is only a small part of HBJ, accounting for about eight percent of its sales, the general books department occupies a very special place in Jovanovich's life, and he has always been deeply involved in its operations. He has long-standing personal relationships with a number of HBJ authors such as Mary McCarthy. He has edited and written introductions for several HBJ books, such as Charles Lindbergh's recent autobiography. He regularly reads and passes judgment on manuscripts. If punishment had been apportioned fairly on Bloody Monday, Jovanovich's head might have rolled as well.

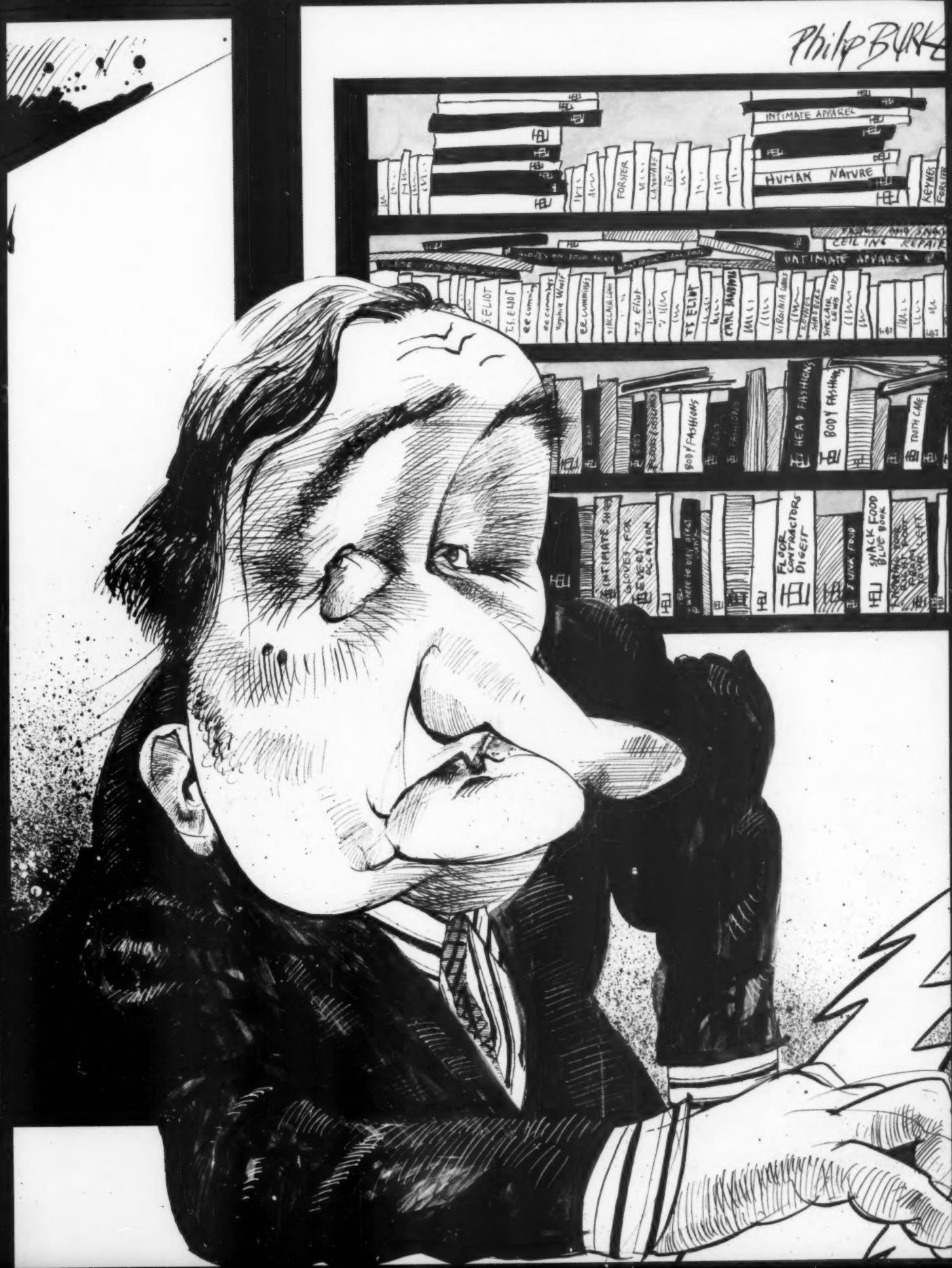
The Intellectual Tycoon

To Jovanovich, however, books are more than producers of revenue. The son of immigrants (his father was Yugoslav, his mother Polish), he grew up in a small mining town in Colorado in a home without books. His mother was illiterate, and Jovanovich did not speak English until he went to school at the age of five. Having overcome these origins, Jovanovich now sees himself as a breed above the general run of industrial titans. While they remain grey, grammarless men narrowly obsessed with the grubby intricacies of machines and balance sheets, Jovanovich regards himself as an intellectual. Not long ago, he proudly proclaimed that he was "probably the most scholarly man in American publishing."

Jovanovich, or WJ, as he is often known within the company, employs numerous devices to project this self-image. Most chief executives open their annual reports with dry, ritual recitations of financial data. Not Jovanovich. His begin with essays written in graceful, seamless, 19th-century prose, and are studded with literary and historical references. Summarizing a series of corporate ventures in the 1976 report, Jovanovich noted that, "It was at once too much and too little, like a novel by Theodore Dreiser or Marcel Proust." An earlier report managed to mention Bismarck, Richelieu, Marie de Me-

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Philip BURKE



dici, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel Johnson, Adam Smith, and David Hume. Jovanovich is also the author of many essays on education and has contributed to the *American Scholar*. His first novel, *Madmen Must*, the first part of an autobiographical trilogy, was recently published by Harper & Row.

But for all his intellectual striving, Jovanovich's impact on the world of ideas remains small. And for all its financial success, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich is not a testament to erudition, but to business skills.

Jovanovich has built his company not by spotting great books, but by spotting good deals. Since he took over HBJ, he has made 35 acquisitions, most of which have turned out successfully. Today, the company derives most of its income from textbooks, educational and psychological tests, scientific and technical books and journals, and business periodicals. Over the past few years, Jovanovich has displayed a growing willingness to expand far beyond HBJ's traditional base in education and publishing into just about anything that seems to offer an attractive opportunity for profit and growth. The company now owns an interest in four small FM radio stations, has agreed to buy two TV stations in Minnesota, recently began publishing a magazine called *Human Nature*, and has formed a task force to develop motion pictures from its publishing properties. In 1976, HBJ outbid MCA and paid \$51 million for Sea World, which operates marine-life parks in San Diego, Orlando, and Aurora, Ohio. More recently, it acquired Cap'n Kids' Galley, a California fish-and-chips chain.

Even HBJ's publishing properties tend to be more notable for their generation of profits than ideas. Its 64 business magazines and directories, while quite remunerative, tend to rank among the

least impressive examples of what is already a rather pallid genre, where the distinction between advertising and editorial space is often blurred and sometimes nonexistent. Among HBJ's recent new offerings are *Snack Food Blue Book*, *Body Fashions/Intimate Apparel Market Maker*, and *Flooring Contractors Digest*.

In these fields, though, the operative goal is seldom higher than the bottom line. Far loftier aspirations, at HBJ and other publishing houses, can often be found in trade book divisions. Founded in 1919 by Alfred Harcourt and Donald Brace, what was then Harcourt, Brace & Co. swiftly became the nation's most distinguished and successful trade book house, eclipsing even Alfred A. Knopf, as Knopf himself once conceded. Its early authors included Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, T.S. Eliot, John Maynard Keynes, E.M. Forster, e.e. cummings, and Virginia Woolf.

While pleased by the profits of such publications as *Flooring Contractors Digest*, Jovanovich has always been fascinated by and attracted to trade books because of their link to the world of ideas. Yet, despite his personal involvement and concern, many in the book publishing business agree that, as a trade book publisher, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich has deteriorated markedly since Jovanovich took over the company. Nearly all of Harcourt's early authors—and their editors—have died or moved to other houses. HBJ has been able to come up with few writers of comparable stature to replace them. It still publishes such authors as Mary McCarthy, Helen McInnes, and Irving Howe, but it has lost, among others, Eudora Welty, Jerzy Kosinski, Katherine Anne Porter. HBJ's list today pales beside that of such quality houses as Knopf and Farrar, Straus & Giroux. "You have to stand in awe of their

backlist," says one of the legion of former HBJ editors. "But other than that, they're next to nothing."

Angst and Rage

Fortunately for Jovanovich, the general books division's losses have been amply compensated for by lush profits from HBJ's other divisions. And Jovanovich himself has become accustomed to all the perquisites of success: he earns \$273,600 a year, owns over \$1.6 million worth of HBJ stock, lives in a sumptuous estate in Briarcliff Manor in Westchester County and a summer home in Murray Bay, Quebec, travels by limousine, and lunches regularly at Lutece, one of New York's most fashionable restaurants.

Yet none of this, apparently, is enough. As many who know him will attest, Jovanovich is today a tortured, agonized man. He is afflicted, as he himself once put it, with a "sometimes pointless angst," a "tremendous restlessness, a rage." Though only 58, he has had three serious heart attacks, the first when he was 33.

He is a man who seems to be aware of his own shortcomings. Some years ago, he mused in a letter to HBJ editor Hiram Haydn that, "I feel a certain waste—Hegel said waste was the essence of tragedy—in myself. I know that I am capable of larger things than running Harcourt, Brace & World, yet I don't seek other enterprises and other roles." In another letter, he confessed that at times he became curiously distracted and, recovering, felt like "a man who has been away, looking at his life, and is embarrassed by his own presence."

Jovanovich's angst seems to be reflected in his style of management, which evolved during the early days of his accession to power. When he joined Harcourt, Brace & Co. in 1947 as a \$50-a-week text-

book salesman, the once close partnership of Alfred Harcourt and Donald Brace had been torn by rancor. The reason for their falling out was the hiring of Alfred's son, Hastings. Though Hastings apparently possessed little aptitude for book publishing, Alfred intended Hastings to be his successor and worked to promote Hastings's rapid advancement. Donald objected. But the issue was unresolvable, since neither Alfred nor Donald had a controlling interest in the company. Each owned only 39 percent of its stock; the rest was scattered among other employees.

As the dispute raged, others at the company began maneuvering for position to exploit the increasing instability. Among these was William Jovanovich, whose success as a salesman had enabled him to move swiftly into a position of prominence.

In the summer of 1954, Alfred died and his stock was acquired by Hastings. Donald Brace was seriously ill (he would die the following year) and concerned about the effect of Hastings's likely assumption of control on the Brace family's future financial security. With Hastings's acquiescence, Brace selected Jovanovich as president and chief executive officer, leaving Hastings chairman of the board. Brace had been impressed by Jovanovich's business sense and decisiveness. And, as a former employee puts it, "Brace felt that Jovanovich was the only one around who could control Hastings."

Brace's judgment was not ill-founded. In the first of an audacious series of actions to solidify his control, Jovanovich ousted Hastings. Perhaps realizing Jovanovich was more qualified to run the company than he, Hastings, who later became an automobile dealer, did not resist. Jovanovich remained concerned, though, about the large stock positions still held by the Harcourt and Brace families. As

he once said, "I don't think anybody who hasn't lived with it can appreciate what it really means to try to run an enterprise, direct it, and preside over it with decisiveness, if you know that in point of fact your power is really illusionary, because at any moment two human beings can speak to each other and cause it to be over with."

Jovanovich dealt with the problem deftly. In 1960, he used a large block of the two families' stock to acquire World Book Co., a textbook publisher. In 1961, he convinced them to sell a major portion of their shares so that the company could conduct a public stock offering. The effect was to dilute drastically the families' influence. Though they remain important owners today, no single individual owns more than ten percent of HBJ's shares.

"I'm The Boss"

During this period, Jovanovich was consolidating his power within the company. He fired or forced out many early rivals such as textbook department head James Reid, who had hired Jovanovich in 1947.

In succeeding years, new antagonists were also dispatched. During the early 1970s, Jovanovich reportedly became concerned about the excessively independent attitude of Walter J. Johnson, head of Academic Press, a scientific book publisher Jovanovich had acquired and now one of HBJ's most profitable subsidiaries. Johnson often saw fit to challenge Jovanovich's policies. Further, Johnson and his wife were the largest individual shareholders in HBJ, having received eight percent of the company's shares when HBJ acquired Academic. In 1973, Johnson abruptly resigned. According to sources, Jovanovich forced Johnson to leave and ordered him to vacate the premises immediately. When Johnson, who was deeply

shocked by his dismissal, lingered in his office for a few days, Jovanovich had him forcibly evicted.

Some years earlier, Jovanovich asked the head of a small, but quite eminent British publishing firm, which HBJ had recently acquired, to publish Mary McCarthy's *The Group* in England, since HBJ was about to publish the book in the U.S. The British publisher, Sir Rupert Hart-Davis, refused. Jovanovich argued that the book was certain to be a best-seller. Sir Rupert replied that he made it a practice never to publish a book unless he personally liked it, and he did not like *The Group*. Jovanovich promptly sent over an associate to liquidate the firm, which had never been much of a money-maker. Sir Rupert staved off the move by finding a buyer who acquired the firm from Jovanovich. "In the beginning, he was all over me with friendship and love," says Sir Rupert. "Once, when I flew to New York to meet with him, he put his arms around me and kissed me. His secretary said I shouldn't worry, because when a man does that to another man in Montenegro [the birthplace of Jovanovich's father], he'll never let him down. Well, he let me down with a bang."

The top executives at Simon & Schuster managed to avoid what might have been a similar calamity. In 1974, S&S and HBJ announced an \$8.3 million merger deal. Though S&S was to become a wholly owned subsidiary of HBJ, S&S executives expected to retain a great deal of independence, especially in trade book publishing. Shortly after the merger announcement, however, *New York* magazine reported that some S&S editors were angry about the deal. Asked about their concern, Jovanovich said, "In the end, editorial judgments are the same as business judgments." People gossiping about the merger, he went on, should "shut up, do their jobs, and get on with it."

While there would be no merging of the departments of the two houses, Jovanovich said, "That doesn't mean I won't have anything to say about how Simon & Schuster is going to be run. I'm the boss."

A few days later, the deal was called off, according to the official announcement, "in view of the depressing influence of the present financial markets." In fact, the reason was the depressing influence of Jovanovich's statements. Says S&S chairman Leon Shimkin, "When Bill opened his big mouth, our editors became aroused. They didn't want some big shot telling them what to do. I respect Bill, but there's a difference in philosophy. My philosophy is that the publisher is not an editor. He hires editors. Bill has to run everything. When it became clear that the deal would not have been happy for our people, I called it off."

Though corporate boards of directors are not known for their independence, the HBJ board remains among the most docile in the business world. Seven of its 14 members are HBJ employees. Three others are or have been affiliated with recipients of financial and legal business from HBJ. Director Peter J. Ryan is a partner in the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, which was paid \$627,134 in legal fees by HBJ in 1977. Director Anne Morrow Lindbergh is an HBJ author and received \$83,022 in royalties from HBJ in 1977. Past members of the board who have seen fit to oppose Jovanovich have not been nominated by Jovanovich for reelection. "He simply can't stand anyone who says no to him," says one.

Jovanovich always remains on guard against the emergence of new rivals. For years, he declined to designate a second-in-command. In 1970, after the board and some HBJ stockholders expressed mild concern about what might happen if he had

another heart attack, Jovanovich named himself chairman and selected as president Paul D. Corbett, head of the college textbook department. Corbett, said Jovanovich, would take over the company's "day-to-day operations." Corbett's role, in fact, turned out to be little more than ceremonial. But Jovanovich tired of the arrangement anyway in 1976 and discharged Corbett, who now runs an HBJ Canadian subsidiary. Paul F. Brandwein, head of the school curriculum and instruction group, was made vice chairman last May, but left the post later in the year. The official reason for his departure was poor health, but there are reliable reports that he, too, was discharged.

"Just Like Jove"

In February, Jovanovich established an "office of the president" occupied by three men. Explaining to *Publishers Weekly* why it was necessary to install three men in the president's post, Jovanovich said, "I am the only person in the company who, out of sheer longevity, has had experience in selling, editing, designing, and as head of school, college, and general books. You can't replicate that now." Throwing executives into hot competition with one another, an old way of diffusing corporate power, has long been a Jovanovich tactic. HBJ itself is organized into five groups, whose heads compete intensely with each other. The rivalry is often vicious, and employees are sometimes discouraged from associating with those from other groups, except to conduct business dealings. One former group executive seeking to purchase services from another HBJ group found the latter's prices much higher than those available elsewhere. "Either they were trying to rip us off," he says, "or they just didn't like the idea of doing business with us." Jovanovich is said to main-

tain an informal but efficient intelligence network to ensure that he is continuously aware of who is doing and saying what to whom. Once, at a departmental sales meeting at which Jovanovich was not present, an employee rather offhandedly expressed disapproval of a Jovanovich decision. A few days later, the individual received a curt memo from Jovanovich reprimanding him for the remark.

The intelligence network is operated by Margaret Mary McQuillan, a longtime, devoted aide. Informants tend to find their positions within the company enhanced as a result of their extra loyalty. If the intelligence network receives information that two senior executives are having unusually close business or social dealings with one another, Jovanovich will sometimes become "jealous," says a former employee, especially if one of the executives normally reports directly to WJ. Jovanovich has occasionally moved to disrupt such relationships.

Loyalty and obedience are encouraged in other ways. Jovanovich can be generous, nasty, sympathetic, cruel, and magnanimous, but, above all, he is unpredictable, possessed, as some associates put it, of a "whim of iron." One former HBJ editor finds the recent renaming of HBJ's paperback line to "Jove/HBJ" appropriate. "Just like Jove," he says, "Jovanovich puts special store in the bolt from the blue." He has been known to hire a person, quickly promote him, then, without apparent reason or warning, demote him, resurrect him, and fire him.

Jovanovich apparently feels a need to dominate even casual dealings with people. A large, powerful man, who emanates a tensed, animal energy, he can project an overwhelming presence. Says one acquaintance, "He tries to control the pace and temperature of every encounter." When he lunches at Lutece, he usu-

ally insists on selecting the food and drink for his guests. He monopolizes most conversations. To celebrate the inauguration of the Jove/HBJ line, he held a festive, four-hour dinner at Lutece. "We all had a good time," says one person who attended, "except that nobody had a chance to say anything. It's no exaggeration to say that WJ talked for almost four hours." On another occasion, Jovanovich lunched with movie producer Joseph E. Levine, who wanted HBJ to publish his autobiography. "It was a disaster," says one individual close to Levine. "Levine made the mistake of talking about himself the whole lunch. He didn't give Jovanovich time to open his mouth." Perhaps as a result, HBJ never published the book.

Jovanovich seems to take great interest in the physical details of his environment and is especially attentive to the decor of the Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Building at 757 Third Avenue. Shortly after moving into the building, Jovanovich noticed from the street that employees placed the blinds on their windows at different levels. He had a memorandum issued decreeing that, henceforth, only two levels would be permitted.

After adding Jovanovich to the corporate name in 1970, a move strongly opposed by a member of the Brace family, Jovanovich became sensitive to references to the company as Harcourt or Harcourt Brace. The latter, according to an orientation booklet given new employees, is "archaic and inaccurate." In writing about her early days at the company in a book of essays to be published by HBJ, Mary McCarthy accurately referred to the company as Harcourt Brace. Jovanovich insisted that the reference be changed to Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. McCarthy steadfastly refused, and Jovanovich finally acquiesced. But he reportedly circulated a memorandum pointing out that the inci-

dent was not to be taken as a precedent.

Jovanovich's world is not only under his tight control, but is almost hermetically sealed. He travels by limousine from his Briarcliff Manor estate, to his cavernous, ninth-floor office, to Lutece, back to his office, then home. Jovanovich almost never visits HBJ's other floors. Many longtime employees have never seen him. He has few dealings with anyone else in the publishing business. He refuses to join the Association of American Publishers. He rarely goes to parties. When he does, says one former associate, "he'll usually leave quickly if he's not the center of attention."

squeezes whatever there is to learn out of every setback, every victory."

Yet John Sirovich also sometimes displays a certain insecurity. At one point, he is asked if he wants power. "I don't want to be humiliated," Sirovich replies. To a Montenegrin, humiliation is among the most distressing reverses that can befall a man. (Later in the book, Sirovich's father is testifying in court on behalf of a friend charged with shooting an enemy. "You need the law," his father tells the judge, "but the law isn't enough when a man humiliates you, for then you must kill him.")

Jovanovich's "angst" also seems to have a component of insecurity. His sharp wit is often used at the expense of others. He almost never laughs at himself. He has sometimes turned against those who have befriended and aided him and to whom he feels indebted or vulnerable. His forcing out of Harcourt textbook editor James Reid is a typical example. It was Reid who hired Jovanovich and helped him advance within the company. Before asking Reid to retire early, Jovanovich told a number of Reid's associates that Reid was becoming senile. Reid, who, according to friends, retains full possession of his faculties, later remarked, "It's dangerous to get too close to Bill."

Jovanovich seems to enjoy publicly disparaging other HBJ executives or indulging in what one former executive calls displays of "sheer swagger." Not long ago, Jovanovich arranged a lunch that included one of HBJ's senior vice presidents and a high-ranking executive from another company with which Jovanovich was interested in arranging a deal. About halfway through the lunch, it became clear that a deal was out of the question. Tiring of the conversation, Jovanovich began an interrogation of the vice president, who had often been mentioned as a possible

Montenegrin Roots

In offering explanations for his behavior, Jovanovich watchers, of whom there are many, usually point to his father's origins in Montenegro, a mountainous region of Yugoslavia that Jovanovich has called "the harshest, most brutal land in Europe." Montenegrins, Jovanovich has said, are "a heroic, Homeric people." (After meeting Jovanovich for the first time, T.S. Eliot talked with a friend about the experience. "Have you ever noticed the back of his neck?" Eliot inquired. The friend said he had not. "Just like Tito," Eliot said.)

Jovanovich is proud of his Montenegrin roots. His sense of self seems to be embodied in John Sirovich, the young protagonist in his new novel, *Madmen Must*, a surprisingly lifeless autobiographical rendering of Jovanovich's coming of age. A synopsis of the book, distributed with the galleys and approved by Jovanovich, describes Sirovich as "heir to a people who celebrate young men; he is confident of his own manhood; he is endowed with genes which match intellectual energy with physical strength; he is powered by the clear vision of what a life can be. . . . He

successor to Jovanovich. At one point, the vice president was slow to reply to a question. "What's the matter?" Jovanovich asked sharply. "Did you get up on the wrong side of the bed this morning? You shouldn't have to think about something like that."

Jovanovich likes to impress people with his prodigious work capacity. Until recently, he would often work in his office all night long and then make a point of telling people about it the next day. "Don't let my doctor know," he would joke.

He is also careful to guard against disclosures that might not square with his persona. In a letter to Hiram Haydn explaining why he did not seek publicity, Jovanovich wrote, "It's not that I avoid exposing my innermost feelings because they might, thereby, be bruised; it may be that I am fearful these feelings are trivial. One thing does bother me, perhaps, and that is the notion that as a private person I have no subject matter, as it were."

Several years ago, Jovanovich became embroiled in a bitter dispute with Joan Simpson Burns, then an HBJ editor. During the late 1960s, Burns wrote *The Awkward Embrace*, a book about the influence of several men, including Jovanovich, on the nation's cultural life. Publication was delayed for four years while Jovanovich sought to prevent Burns from including "personal details," as he put it, from taped interviews she had had with him. He even tried to get Burns to remove comments made about him by others. The book was finally published in 1975 (by Knopf), but not until Burns, who feared that Jovanovich would take her to court, had agreed to revise or delete 80 pages of the manuscript, return all transcripts to him, and decline to discuss publicly what was in them. "He thought everything I was going to say about him would be positive," Burns says today.

"But then he discovered I was going to put in some things he didn't like. He doesn't like to appear in a negative manner. Here was a man who prides himself on upholding freedom of information attempting censorship."

(After initially agreeing to be interviewed for this article and asking that he and the three people in the office of the president be the only spokesmen for the company, Jovanovich canceled the appointment when he learned that I had attempted to arrange a not-for-attribution interview with Kathy Robbins, then head of HBJ's general book division.)

Brian Baker/MORE



HBJ chairman William Jovanovich returns to his office after lunching at Lutece.

Trade Book Troubles

Jovanovich's style of leadership has obviously not prevented the company from becoming a financial success, although the repressive atmosphere has likely deterred some competent individuals from joining the company and provoked the departure of others already there. In business acuity, HBJ's other executives pale beside Jovanovich. The management of large businesses, like that of military organizations, however, is inherently authoritarian. HBJ may be more repressive than other corporations

and Jovanovich more an autocrat than most chief executives. Yet there are many well-qualified executives at HBJ who find the atmosphere quite tolerable. Moreover, as a man who works with almost awesome speed, efficiency, and intensity, Jovanovich seems to have never felt the need for executives with more than average qualifications to assist him.

But in the general books department, Jovanovich's style has been responsible for the department's notable lack of success, both by commercial and literary standards. A good publishing house is usually made up of strong-willed and

Jackson Bate's biography of Samuel Johnson, which recently won a National Book Award. Many of HBJ's best authors left with these editors.

The only editor of note that Jovanovich has been able to recruit and keep is Helen Wolff. Initially in partnership with her now-deceased husband Kurt, Helen Wolff has developed a working relationship with a very impressive list of European authors such as Gunter Grass and Georges Simenon. Though few sell very well, her authors account for most of the few works of important literary value on HBJ's recent lists.

Despite her prestige value to the company, Jovanovich—perhaps aware that her eminence in publishing circles exceeds his—has reportedly treated Wolff like any other potential rival. Shortly after selecting Kathy Robbins, a former subsidiary rights head at Random House, to run HBJ's general books department a few years ago, Jovanovich called in Wolff to tell her he intended to send Robbins to the Frankfurt Book Fair, by far the most important of the book industry's conventions. Wolff, who is German, and had attended the fair for many years, told Jovanovich that sending Robbins was a good idea and that she would gladly introduce Robbins to her friends. Jovanovich said Wolff hadn't understood what he meant. Robbins was going, he went on, but she was staying home. According to friends, Wolff was astounded. She was reportedly nearly as upset last December, when she received the prestigious PEN Publisher Citation for the outstanding publisher of the year. Neither Jovanovich nor any other HBJ official attended the presentation.

To make up for the dearth of good editors, Jovanovich has put in a good share of his own time on the general books department. But, so far as a number of former HBJ editors can recall, no major author

HBJ'S BOTTOM LINE

Divisions	Sales and Revenues		Net Income Before Taxes and Interest Expense	
	1977	1973	1977	1973
School instructional materials	\$ 109,344,034	\$ 68,831,039	\$ 16,202,661	\$ 10,601,534
University and professional publishing and instruction	83,376,749	48,443,365	11,161,632	5,282,409
Popular enterprises	60,015,015		10,409,911	
Periodical subscriptions and advertising	52,137,971	24,607,403	4,593,876	2,800,010
General books	31,015,468	11,571,782	(603,577)	812,751
Tests and testing services	24,925,939	17,321,338	3,207,615	3,623,025
Insurance	10,273,504	6,111,257	2,899,595	2,413,003
Unallocated corporate overhead			(5,869,976)	(3,417,347)
Total	\$ 371,088,680	\$ 176,886,184	\$ 42,001,737	\$ 22,115,385

University and Scholarly Publishing Group: Academic Press, Inc. (Johnson Reprint Corporation, Grune & Stratton, Inc., AP Continuing Medical Education Division); College Department (Media Systems Corporation); Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Legal and Professional Publications, Inc.; Miller Comprehensive CPA Review, Inc.; Law and Business, Inc.; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich International Division (Longman Canada Limited, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Group [Australia] Pty. Ltd., Editions Etudes Vantantes Limitee, Editions Reconnaissance Limitee).

Popular Enterprises Group: Sea World, Inc. (marine parks in San Diego, Orlando, and Aurora, Ohio, and Cap'n Kids' Galley restaurants).

School Materials and Assessment Group: School Department (Center for the Study of Instruction, Division of Urban Education, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Films); The Psychological Corporation; Beckley-Cardy Company (Benefic Press, Weber Costello, Beckley-Cardy); Guidance Associates, Inc.; Ann Arbor Biological Center, Inc.

Periodicals and Insurance Group: The Harvest Publishing Company (*Pennsylvania Farmer, Kansas Farmer, Missouri Realist, The Ohio Farmer,*

Michigan Farmer, etc.); Nebraska Farmer Company (*Nebraska Farmer, Colorado Rancher and Farmer*); The Harvest Life Insurance Company; Harvest Insurance Agency; John M. Riehle & Co., Inc. (Knox, Lent & Tucker, Inc., Emmons & Co.).

General Publishing and Broadcasting Group: General Book Department (includes the paperback divisions, Jove/HBJ, Harvest/HBJ, and Voyager/HBJ); Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publications Division; Human Nature, Inc. (*Human Nature* magazine); The Instructor Publications, Inc.; The History Book Club; Instructor Book Club; United Media International, Inc.; HBJ Press; FM radio stations WWRJ in Southampton, Long Island, WWRN in West Palm Beach, Florida, WCRN in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and WCOD in Hyannis, Massachusetts; WDIO-TV, Duluth, Minnesota and WIRT-TV, Hibbing, Minnesota (pending FCC approval); Drake-Beam & Associates, Inc.; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Bookstores; Davidson Printing Company; Dansville Press; Grafacon, Inc.

The information in this chart is taken from Harcourt Brace Jovanovich's 1977 annual report.

has been lured to HBJ by Jovanovich. "A good publisher has to be a midwife to a creative author," says a former HBJ editor. "But there is nothing in Bill's nature that allows him to be a midwife to anyone. He wants to be the star himself."

Jovanovich seems to have been embarrassed by the department's failures. Until recently, he refused to suffer what he apparently felt was the visible ignominy of permitting major HBJ books to be remaindered, with the result that millions of unsold copies piled up in warehouses.

When Kathy Robbins, the latest in a long series of people to head the general books division, came to HBJ in 1974, there was much discussion in the industry over the fact that,

at 28, she had never held a senior editorial position before. To many Jovanovich watchers, however, it fit a pattern. Says one former editor, "Bill often hires young people, pushes them so high that they fail, and then turns on them with a vengeance. It's almost as if he wants to prove there will never be anyone else like him."

Though Robbins was bright and hardworking, many people who worked and dealt with her felt that she was indeed over her head. Behind her back, to others in the department, Jovanovich has said as much. Devised at Jovanovich's urging and with his full support, her basic strategy to turn the department around was an aggressive and expensive marketing campaign. It often featured garish adver-

tisements. A poster for a novel called *Isobel* blared: "By day she was a model village wife. On moonlit nights—when the coven people called and her lover summoned—she rode in wild abandon to do demonic mischief. And even murder!"

The strategy so far has not worked. Robbins assembled a solid marketing, advertising, and sales staff, but she was unable to come up with very much for it to push. Though the official 1977 pre-tax loss for general books was \$600,000, further losses of perhaps \$1 million or more may have been buried in a \$5.9 million deficit labeled "unallocated corporate overhead." Except for the surprising success of John Jakes's pot-boiling "Kent Family Chronicles," the Jove/HBJ

paperback line (formerly Pyramid Communications, acquired in 1974) has had mediocre results. The \$13 million which the company has put into Jove/HBJ has been a major cash drain on HBJ. With embarrassing questions about the general books department's losses likely at the company's annual meeting in May, Jovanovich's purge of Robbins and most of the department's senior staff was hardly surprising. Jovanovich, at least temporarily, has assumed direct control of the department, and there have been reports that HBJ plans to curtail severely the activities of its general books department.

In statements about the firing, Jovanovich sought to give the impression that Robbins and her associates bore

sole responsibility for the general books department's losses. "I gave Kathy Robbins a free hand in running the place," he told *Newsweek*. "It just didn't work out." In fact, Jovanovich was intimately involved with the general books department during Robbins's tenure. He personally passed on nearly all hardcover projects involving outlays of over \$50,000, and worked closely with Robbins. "She tells me everything," Jovanovich once boasted. "She's totally loyal."

Another apparent reason for the purge—not stated publicly—was the growing feeling by Robbins and her associates that Jovanovich was actually *too* involved with trade book publishing. Earlier this year, in response to departmental profit goals promulgated by Jovanovich, Robbins prepared a financial analysis of the general books department, which included an exhibit comparing adult hardcover books produced on the tenth floor, where the division is formally located, with those prepared on the ninth floor. The ninth-floor output included books produced by Helen Wolff, who, like some other ninth-floor "co-publishers," reports directly to Jovanovich. It also included many books—more than a dozen a year—contracted for by Jovanovich himself. These ranged from novels by Yugoslav authors and books about Serbia, to a history of the University of Colorado (his alma mater), to works by such celebrities as Dick Cavett, Mort Sahl, and Pearl Bailey. Among his books was a volume of poetry by the son of Charles F. Bound, a retired vice president of Morgan Guaranty and one of Jovanovich's steadfast supporters on HBJ's board of directors.

Despite the diversity of subject matter, Jovanovich's books have one thing in common: most have been lackluster sellers and many have lost money. Their performance has been considerably below

that of the tenth-floor books. One book on archaeology by C.W. Ceram, for which Jovanovich reportedly paid a six-figure advance, is said to have sold a mere 20,000 copies. The exhibit to the Robbins report contained projections for the 89 adult hardcover books HBJ expected to publish during 1978. Jovanovich's 22 books were projected to sell an average of 5,100 copies each. Helen Wolff's books were estimated at 8,500. HBJ's other 53 books were projected at 18,000 copies.

Robbins presented the analysis to Jovanovich during a meeting in late February. She told him that unless something was done to reduce the number of ninth-floor books, it would be impossible for the general books division to meet Jovanovich's profit goals. He did not seem upset and even reportedly conceded to Robbins that "I'm the problem." But that was the last time Robbins saw him. To some staff members who survived the purge, Jovanovich compared those he had fired to the "infidel Turks" who were ousted from Serbia after several centuries of occupation during the 1800s. Robbins and her associates may have cost HBJ a lot of money, but to Jovanovich, apparently, they were also potential enemies who had to be crushed.

On The Margin

Jovanovich has often talked of his gambler's instinct, of the need to take big risks in order to gain big rewards. The hero of his novel, John Sirovich, at one point, without regret, bets and loses \$1,900 on a single turn of a poker card, an event that "lands him on the margin of the world of adult urgencies." Jovanovich's own hero is that archetypal chance-taker, Charles Lindbergh. Yet, despite such recent corporate ventures as the Sea World purchase, Jovanovich's life, since he took over HBJ, has moved away

from risk-taking, from living on the margin.

He was, he told author Joan Burns, "a rude, angry adolescent," an appropriate offspring of a mother who was a member of the IWW and a father who was one of the leaders of the mine workers' bloody 1913-14 strike against the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. But after becoming president of Harcourt, recounted James Reid, "he remodeled himself in several ways. He became more careful and conservative in dress and more frequent with the haircuts. . . . He joined the Union League Club, high meeting place of New York conservatives and a far cry politically from the young man who, only six years earlier, had voted for Henry Wallace's third party."

More recently, as a member of the New York State Board of Regents, one of his rare ventures beyond HBJ, Jovanovich was the leader of the board's conservative faction and an outspoken foe of school busing. When a Briarcliff Manor fair housing group solicited his interest, he responded that he saw nothing wrong with the town's housing.

At HBJ, he has created an atmosphere that is inimical to change, that tends to suppress disruptive but potentially productive initiative by others, that attempts to muffle voices other than his own.

Jovanovich, nevertheless, now finds himself again on the margin of a world of urgencies. At a time when corporations have been gobbling up other corporations at a growing rate, especially in the publishing field, he is said to be worried about HBJ's vulnerability to a takeover. HBJ stock, like that of a number of other publishing companies, is selling for only a fraction of its price during the late 1960s, when publishing companies were hot stocks on Wall Street. Having installed his name beside those of HBJ's

founders, he is said to be worried that, after he dies, it will be stricken. He has contemplated installing one of his two sons as his designated successor. The oldest, Stefan, is a lawyer in California. A more likely choice is Peter, who runs the trade book department at Macmillan. Yet it's far from certain that either of them would accept the role or whether Jovanovich's board of directors would honor his choice after he is gone. "When Bill dies," says a former employee, "it's going to be like Russia in 1953."

To stamp irrevocably his own presence on HBJ, he is directing his energies toward building it into a billion-dollar company by the early 1980s. HBJ could then perhaps surpass everyone in the field except mighty Time, Inc. But that would mean nearly tripling its size and much risk-taking. It might require relaxing his tight autocracy and enlisting the aid of individuals as capable and as strong-willed as himself.

It is, in short, a time of both great peril and possibility for William Jovanovich. Yet an editor and former associate questions whether Jovanovich possesses the ability to meet the challenge. "To be truly great, you have to be able to really let yourself go," the editor says. "You have to surrender yourself, in a sense, to forces higher than yourself. You have to be willing to be vulnerable. Bill's just too self-conscious. He guards his image too much. He's always WJ, trying to make an impression."

In the passage from which his novel takes its name, John Sirovich is discussing with a friend the 19th-century migration to California. Sirovich remarks, "It is the end, going west. California is the end of the line."

"Then it can be no less than Utopia," the friend replies. "One does not dream beyond the limit."

"Madmen must," Sirovich answers. ■

ASSET UNWITTING: COVERING THE WORLD FOR THE CIA

Correspondent Tells Of Employment By Secretly Funded Agency News Service

Forum World Features overtly owned by John Hay Whitney.

BY RUSSELL WARREN HOWE

In October 1967, a letter arrived at my summer cottage at Godstone, near London, from Georges Galipeau, a Canadian friend then running the journalism school at Dakar University

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in Senegal. I was about to relocate my family to Dakar, and base out of there for freelance forays around Africa and the Middle East. Several weeks before, Galipeau had asked me if I would be available to lecture to his students occasionally, and I had said I would.

"This is most embarrassing," Galipeau now wrote. A "key member" of the journalism school's board had forbidden him categorically to let me lecture, "because he says he knows you work for the CIA."

My first reflex was to laugh. The press in French-speaking

Illustration by Niculaea Ascu



Africa was far from free, and I could think of obvious reasons why some French and Senegalese officials wouldn't want the former *Washington Post* correspondent in Africa talking at Dakar University, a restless hotbed of opposition to the regime of Leopold Sedar Senghor.

My second reflex was to worry. Galipeau's letter, typed by his secretary, was presumably carbon-copied and in an open file. To how many people had the "key member" of the board spoken of his veto? A *Ramparts* article that summer on CIA penetration of the academic and publishing worlds had thrown a mantle of suspicion over Americans abroad, easily exploited by left-wing forces. What rumors about my alleged double role might be sown in my path, drying up sources cultivated in over a decade of third world reporting? There wasn't much time to lose: the Dakar academic year began in November.

I wrote to President Senghor, whom I had known as a *de-pote* in Paris and who had written the preface for the French translation of one of my books. I explained about Galipeau's letter.

"There's a new McCarthyism around," I wrote. "A few years ago, if we wrote critically of colonial rule, we were all communists. Now, if we write for the American press, we are all CIA agents."

Senghor's response came almost by return mail.

"You are right: a veritable McCarthyism rages everywhere," he wrote. "The other day, someone said to me: 'The CIA station chief in Senegal is the director of Catholic Welfare.' So, I said: 'How thoughtful of them to send me a fellow Catholic!' I am today instructing my Minister of National Education to invite you to be a Visiting Professor at the University."

In Dakar, I lost no time in finding out that the source of the

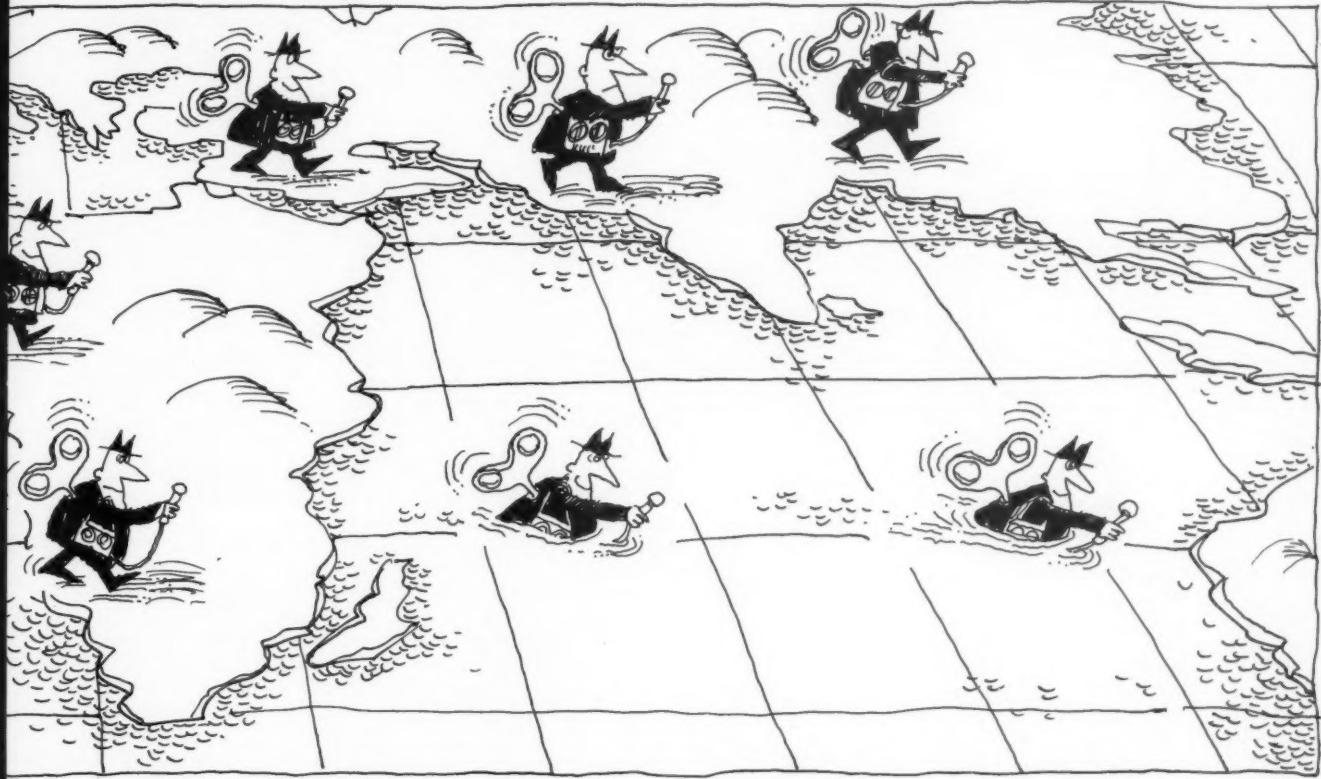
CIA rumor was Philippe Gaillard, Senghor's press secretary and reputedly the head of French intelligence in Senegal. What I did not learn until several years later was that Gaillard was not just engaged in one of the anti-American capers for which French intelligence was notorious. Gaillard knew something which I didn't—and that Senghor presumably didn't believe—about Forum World Features, the syndicate headed by John Hay Whitney which was putting me into over 140 papers around the world.

Signing On

An article in *The New York Times* in December 1977 by John Crewdson described Forum—as the service was always known to writers and subscribers—as "perhaps the most widely circulated of the CIA-owned news services." As the most prolific writer in Forum's stable, I was apparently what was known as an "unwitting asset."

My association with the organization went back to 1958. American press coverage of Africa was thin. AP and UP (not yet UPI) had bureaus in Cairo and Johannesburg. Some European editors of African papers included the American wire services among their strings. A former Hollywood reporter, the late Thomas Brady, covered the continent for the *Times*. I covered the continent for *The Washington Post*, at the time on a non-staff basis. AP, UP, Tom Brady, and myself were the entire U.S. press corps on the continent.

In April 1958, both Brady and I received letters from a body called the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris, inviting us to participate in a seminar on "Progress and Representative Government" at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. The letters were signed by Melvin Lasky, the American co-editor of



Encounter, a London-based magazine, in his capacity as a director of the CCF—the body later exposed by *Ramparts* as a sort of CIA beach-head in the cultural world.

The Ibadan encounter brought together African politicians, labor leaders, writers, and academics, mostly from still dependent countries, and a sprinkling of their opposite numbers from Asia. It was at Ibadan that I first met Patrice Lumumba, then a politically active beer salesman and later first prime minister of the Congo, and Cyrille Adoula, then a labor leader and later to be Lumumba's successor. We were all told that the CCF was supported by U.S. cultural foundations, which seemed believable enough.

Several weeks later, I received a letter from Meir Mindlin, an American in London, on notepaper headed *Information Bulletin Ltd.* Listed as "principal director" of IB was Walter Z. Laqueur, a British academic who frequently wrote on Middle East affairs from an Israeli perspective, and who is now with the conservative Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies in Washington. Mindlin was listed as editor.

Mindlin said he had read my Ibadan paper. Would I write occasionally for him? The *Bulletin* was supported by the CCF, and it was sent to third world editors with free reproduction rights. The idea was to get some "balanced, informed reporting" into the underdeveloped world's press. The pay would be bad—\$50 for 2,000-word articles—but I could rehash material already used in my pieces in the *Post* or in magazines. I was familiar enough with the often dotty interpretations of world events that appeared in African papers to applaud the idea of giving them material by professional correspondents; so I agreed. My days as an asset had begun.

Some time in late 1959 or early 1960, *Information Bulletin* became *Forum Service*.

The "Ltd."—implying incorporation in Britain—was dropped. *Forum* was a Delaware corporation. The newsletter format was replaced by a mailed syndication service of separate articles. The market was still editors in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and it was still free. Foundation grants, channeled through the "Congress"—as the CCF was always called—would pay the bills. On the new notepaper, Lasky was described as editorial director; Mindlin had become the managing editor. Checks now arrived on the CCF account.

Mindlin was a short, myopic, puckish, twinkling-eyed, eggshaped man of about 30. He was a book editor by training. Judging by our conversations, he objected to censorship in all its forms, and, so far as I can recall, no subject that I suggested was ever turned down by Mindlin for what might now look like political reasons. He seemed to publish anything a non-communist reporter might want to write.

In 1961, for instance, by which time I was working full-time for the *Post*, I suggested summarizing for *Forum* some of my *Post* reporting on corruption in Adoula's government in the Congo. Adoula was then the Kennedy administration's candidate to govern a reunited Congo; the failings of his collaborators, especially if reported by a U.S. newsman, might be seen as giving aid and comfort to Adoula's Marxist opponents. But I find in my files a carbon of my cable suggesting the piece. Mindlin's cabled acceptance, and a later letter from him praising the piece and enclosing a clip of it from an Indian paper.

From 1958 through 1965, I wrote about 30 articles for Mindlin's service. They were the same sort of stories that I was writing for the *Post*'s "Outlook" section on Sundays, and for magazines: interpretations of crises and coups d'état, profiles of Afri-

can leaders, and so on. It could be that I was included, with my *Post* credentials and free-spirit, liberal, but non-Marxist analyses of African affairs, to give balance and credibility to a service whose basic aim, presumably, was to counter communist propaganda.

Forum Reformed

In 1965, the Congress gave Mindlin funds to start another enterprise, a quarterly magazine called *Censorship*, which investigated overt and covert limitations on free expression around the world. Although most of the articles concerned communist and other authoritarian regimes, these were carefully balanced by pieces on thought control in Japan, or on press taboos in America or western Europe, written by presumably unwitting assets in academe. Giving Mindlin his own magazine on the subject closest to his heart was, it soon emerged, the first step toward putting *Forum* itself under new leadership. That same year, a British journalist, Brian Crozier, was told by Michael Josselson, then heading the Congress in Paris, to plan a reconstruction of *Forum*. This was to exclude Mindlin. According to informed sources, Josselson, who died recently in Geneva, was a CIA staff officer at the time.

I was then a Ford Fellow in Advanced International Reporting at Columbia. The *Post*, seeking to take advantage of the fact that I still held British citizenship, was trying to get me a visa to set up a bureau in Peking. The visa never materialized, but Mindlin, I recall, was greatly excited at the prospect. Assuming that the *Post* would continue to allow me to write for *Forum*, whose markets were non-American and therefore non-competitive, a CIA-run news service would have a correspondent accredited to Red China.

Forum had been limiting it-

self to placing pieces in the third world press. But on December 1, 1965, Mindlin wrote to me in New York saying an analysis I had written of Moise Tshombe in Leopoldville was "so good it ought to go into Europe." Someone apparently authorized such a departure from policy, and the piece appeared in the London *Guardian*. From then on, *Forum* began to seek subscribers in Europe, but with limited success—the syndicated column or article is virtually unknown in Europe.

Most of *Forum*'s writers, however, were European, predominantly British. Mindlin must have mentioned some names to me on the few occasions we met, but they were unfamiliar, and I remember none. When Crozier came aboard, he ordered articles from two conservative writers—Anthony P. Hartley of *The Economist* and Henry Fairlie of the London *Daily Mail*.

December 1965 was clearly a watershed month in *Forum* activities. The people directing covert press programs must have decided that, with sharper management and editing, *Forum* could move out of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and might even become self-supporting, as a few other agency proprietaries were. Free service was gradually dropped, except for three-month trials for new subscribers who requested them. Third world editors would pay modestly; the European press, as clients were acquired, would pay the going rates.

These were decisions that arrived in London from Congress in Paris. Did Mindlin think the Congress was just a private-foundation program, or did he actually know it was a CIA front? Interviewed in a London hospital bed in 1976, he told me, "I should have guessed." He claims that he was successfully duped, but he says it with a suspicious absence of bitterness or irrita-

tion.

He was more bitter about being fired, which he attributed to Crozier. At the end of 1965, Mindlin was suddenly replaced by Robert Gene Gately, who has since been identified in numerous press reports as having been a CIA officer under cover as a publishing executive. He was to have the new title of managing director. Gately's unannounced arrival clearly came as a shock to Mindlin. He wrote to me in New York that he would now just be editing *Censorship* and "one or two other Congress publications."

On January 1, 1966, Forum Service became Forum World Features, with a trendy new logo and one floor of embassy-sized offices in Sardinia House, an old but prestigious office building within walking distance of Fleet Street and Whitehall. I was still in New York. When I went to London a little later, the staff—formerly Mindlin and a secretary—had grown to over 20 people.

Gene Gately was a handsome, friendly man who, in the late 1950s, had been *Newsweek*'s number-two executive for the Pacific area, based in Tokyo, handling promotion, circulation, and advertising. He denies any CIA link at all, and contests *The New York Times*'s recent assertion that he lost his *Newsweek* job because of poor performance brought on by the drain on his time of Agency work.

In London, Gately clearly ran the show, with Crozier helping select and screen the mostly British staff. John Tusa, a young BBC radio producer, came in as editor. Tarzie Vittachi, a distinguished editor from Ceylon, who had been forced into exile by the Bandaranaike regime, became "Asian director."

Vittachi says he was unwitting, and he sounds convincing. In retrospect, his usefulness was probably similar to mine, but at a higher level. I was a drinking buddy of many

of the new African editors, who would probably publish anything I wrote which Forum sent to them, and who therefore might read—and perhaps publish—some of the other articles in the package. Vittachi was well thought of in the Asian press—Forum's biggest market.

A new Chinese-language service for papers in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere was started, as was a Spanish-language service for Latin America. So far as I know, this expansion did not raise suspicions in any minds. With foundations then apparently bursting with money, investing some of it in a service that would improve the contents of mostly third world papers seemed like a good idea to me, and no doubt to others.

According to a senior U.S. diplomat who was familiar with the Forum operation, the syndicate was run—because of its British headquarters—in cooperation with British intelligence. Brian Crozier, a rather quirky right-wing writer—tall, gray, thin-lipped, stocky—gave himself the decidedly MI-5-like title of "director-general."

Crozier, of course, publicly denies all actual links to intelligence. But he admits today to being privy to intelligence secrets in the 1960s and not writing about them: he told me he knew of the Congress-CIA tie as far back as 1964, when he claims he was asked to run Forum, but refused until the connection was broken. He presumably means "overtly broken." When Crozier accepted his director-generalship in 1965, Forum now had its own bank account with which to pay its bills and (at better rates) its correspondents.

The Whitney Connection

Although the overt link with Congress was supposedly cut in 1965, it was not until mid-1966, shortly after Vittachi came aboard, that Forum

got a new ostensible source of funds—John Hay Whitney, former publisher of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, part-owner of the *International Herald-Tribune*, and a former U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Crozier told Bernard D. Nossiter of *The Washington Post* in 1975 that he joined Forum in 1965 when he was told that Whitney had bought it. But he told me in 1976 that it was he who "brought in" Whitney the following year. Vittachi, now a senior UN official, says Whitney was brought in by Josselson, but agrees that it was 1966, and that Crozier misled Nossiter. It was certainly not until 1966 that contributors were told that they were now on the Whitney payroll. Thus, when Crozier joined Forum, it was still directly under Congress.

Vittachi recalls a luncheon meeting at London's fashionable Brown's Hotel that summer, hosted by Josselson and Lasky. Whitney was the guest of honor. The two Congress representatives, according to Vittachi, "sold Forum across the table" to the wealthy conservative Republican. Whitney told all those present that he was buying Forum because he was convinced that it had promise, and because buying it was something which was "worth doing." What he seems to have decided to do was to lend his name and some of his time—and perhaps give money—to a CIA venture.

Although Forum was now officially "commercial," at least some of the Whitney money was to come, Forum staffers were told, from the John Hay Whitney Foundation. The rest of the annual losses—\$325,000, according to one account—would come from other foundations. At least one of these was the Dearborn Foundation, later exposed as a CIA front.

In short, Forum was "commercial"—thanks to Whitney—but with philanthropic assistance (from the CIA).

Whitney appointed Crozier as chairman of the new corporation, the name of which was changed to Kern House Enterprises in 1969. Forum World Features was now a subsidiary of Kern House Enterprises.

Vittachi got along badly with Crozier from the start. Indeed, the choice of Crozier to run a news service oriented toward the third world seemed strange all along. His views of dark-complexioned people varied from Kiplingesque at best to South African at worst, and he saw the world in the most simplistic of cold war terms.

Crozier had had an undistinguished career at *The Economist*, eventually being shunted off to the editorship of its newsletter, *Foreign Report*. His three main books have been sympathetic biographies of Francisco Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, and Charles de Gaulle, mostly written on Forum time. None were great successes.

Under Gately, the service was considerably more professional. But Crozier, having schemed to remove the studious little New Yorker, Mindlin, with his lunatic commitment to free expression, now set his sights on getting rid of Gately and ridding Sardinia House of all things American except the money.

In April 1966, Gately sent me on an 18-country, 63-day trip through Africa. Forum picked up all the expenses—over \$6,000—and bought a score of articles. I was free to do what I wished for the American press. Gately asked me, whenever I talked to African editors—as I was sure to do almost every other day—to tell them about Forum, if they were not already subscribers, and to invite them to write to him for favorable terms or a trial service. For me, faced with the usual freelance problem of how to pay the overhead costs and still make enough to support a family, the arrangement with Forum was ideal.

In late 1966, I made another long African trip for Forum. Gately was exploring the possibilities of syndicating a cartoon-strip version of my two-volume history of black Africa. I had suddenly become the syndicate's most-published correspondent. Forum activities were taking up nearly half my time. But the Gatelys were a great help.

Crozier Takes Control

Early in 1967, a new face appeared: Cecil Eprile, a stuttering Scottish editor who had run two black publications in Johannesburg. He was to replace Gately. I knew Eprile, a humorous man with a hang-dog look, only slightly from my African travels, and was surprised that someone from such a parochial background should be put in charge of a world syndicate. Everyone else at Forum was equally surprised.

Gately was obviously displeased, but he made no fuss. Crozier now had a Briton with fewer qualifications than Gately, somebody he could control. From then on, if Forum was, in fact, the principal CIA media effort in the world, the man who believed in Franco and Chiang Kai-shek was its program manager. But Eprile, behind his interminable scoutmaster jokes and his speech defect, had a steely Scottish tenaciousness. I have little doubt that Crozier, by choice, would have replaced me with some suitably British equivalent of Ray Vicker, the cold-warrior Africa correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal*. But Eprile knew what African readers read. Thanks to him, my own little province in the Forum empire was to be left undisturbed.

Since Crozier and I were unlikely to get along, Eprile was to ensure that we rarely met. The right-wing Crozier pressures of which Tusa and Vittachi now speak never reached me then. There was nothing to make me suspect

that this was anything but a straightforward syndication service, owned by one of the best-known newspaper publishers in the United States, who had put in a "heavy" as chairman in order to keep the troops in line.

Two weeks after Cecil Eprile arrived, Gately gave a farewell party. He was, he said, going to Santa Barbara, California, to work for his father-in-law. A year later at 37, he "joined" the U.S. foreign service.

The Eprile era began. Was the shuffling, stuttering Scot a witting asset? On the broad principle that all those who are frightened to talk at all were witting, Cecil was witting. (Those who are now prepared to talk were presumably either unwitting or now anxious to appear so.) Eprile, in poor health today and living reclusively in Silver Spring, Maryland, has merely denied in the past that Forum was connected with the CIA in his time. Now, he refuses to talk at all. But, when he left Forum only four years after joining the organization, he was made a U.S. citizen by special bill and given a "Whitney" pension.

Certainly, by the time Eprile joined the staff at Sardinia House, Forum looked like the sort of syndicate that Jock Whitney would not be ashamed to own. Competing in Europe against a myriad of established agencies, was, however, not proving easy. Papers like *The Guardian* and Copenhagen's respected *Poli-tiken* were now regular addicts, and Eprile persuaded Harold Evans, editor of the London *Sunday Times*, to take Forum also.

Eprile's arrival in London, Tusa recalls, had been preceded by a key meeting in New York, in December 1966, under the chairmanship of Whitney. Crozier, who had been away from the office for some time, took leave of General Franco and flew in from Madrid. Gately jetted in from London. Crozier ousted Gate-



Forum World Features sent stories to newspapers around the world in the
national Herald-Tribune, sold **Forum** to millionaire Richard Mellon Scaife

ly and complained about Vittachi and Tusa, seen as too liberal. Unless Tusa shaped up, he would have to go. On his return to London, Crozier gave both Vittachi and Tusa stern lectures about the threat of world communism.

On one occasion, Tusa recalls, he was about to send out a positive piece about Soviet rural clinics. Such innocent objectivity might have enabled the Soviet ambassador in, say, Lagos to offer to set up an eye-catching program of Soviet medical care in Nigeria, using a U.S. press service as his "reference." Eprile, Tusa says, "hit the roof," insisting on cuts, and leaving in nothing which suggested that the Soviet system had any merits. Whitney, Tusa was told, wouldn't publish "plugs for the Soviets."

"Cecil must have been witness," Tusa concludes. Indeed, it would have been difficult for the CIA to "run" Fo-

rum without the managing director's knowledge, and Eprile today shows none of Crozier's naive hope of "clearing his name." Eprile's ostensible boss, Whitney, does not return calls or answer mail if Forum is mentioned. (The same is true of Richard Mellon Scaife, the Pittsburgh multimillionaire who "bought" Forum from Whitney—at least, formally—in 1973.)

At the New York meeting of December 1966, it was also apparently decided that Forum should tell the "U.S. side" of the Vietnam story. Until then, despite the Johnson build-up, the service had carried little about the war and not much about the United States. The explanation had been that these were areas in which we could not hope to compete with the established wire and syndicated newspaper services.

A few months later, Tusa

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CEYLON Daily

packet shown above. John Hay Whitney (left), publisher of the International News Service, was fired and replaced by former *Economist* foreign correspondent David Lewis. Tusa returned to the BBC and is now a television producer. He thinks he was finally condemned after another former *Economist* staff member, A.P. "Tony" Hartley, took Tusa out to lunch at Crozier's suggestion, ostensibly to discuss some proposed Hartley pieces, and spent most of the time pressing Tusa about his political views. "It was like being interrogated by MI-5," Tusa recalls. He apparently flunked the test.

The 'Ramparts' Expose

It was not a bad time to leave. A few weeks later, the *Ramparts* story broke. The Congress was one of the arch-villains of the piece. Forum was not mentioned, but all of us associated with Forum knew of the "former"

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link. *Ramparts* concentrated on CIA infiltration of student organizations and on how the Congress ran several prestigious magazines, most of which were named. The most important was *Encounter*—whose British co-editor, the poet Stephen Spender, resigned in a show of anger on learning of his "unwitting" CIA association. (Lasky assured me later that Spender had always known "as much about the Congress as I did.") Also in Britain, the Congress had financed *Survey*, a Soviet affairs quarterly run by an ardent cold warrior, Leo Labedz. In continental Europe, it had run Francois Bondy's *Preuves* in Paris, Nobel Prize-winner Ignazio Silone's *Tempo Presente* in Rome, *Der Monat* in Germany, *Vision* in Switzerland, and *Forum* in Vienna. Other Congress publications included *El Mundo Nuevo* in Latin America, and *Thought* and *Quest* in India.

Later, other partial links were to come to light: with *Africa Report*, the African-American Institute publication which in its heyday lost \$100,000 a year, and with *Atlas*, a New York digest of the world press. After revelations of these activities, Congress gradually reorganized under different names and, ostensibly (perhaps genuinely), under straight foundation patronage.

Vittachi says today that he was appalled by news of the "former" CIA link, which increased his distrust of Crozier and Eprile. At the end of 1967, he left Forum to head the Press Foundation of Asia, in Manila. I was in Africa at the time and assumed his appointment to what sounded like a much better job explained his departure. He says now that he had remained suspicious in late 1967 that the Congress was still involved with Forum, that there might still be a CIA link. When he resigned, Vittachi says, he wrote to 102 Asian editors then taking the service, explaining that he had known nothing of any CIA links to the Congress or Forum, apologizing for encouraging them to take the service, and leaving it up to them whether they chose to continue to subscribe. Nearly all of them did, and the few who quit must have soon been replaced by competing Asian journals, for the number of clients always rose slightly each year.

After I read the *Ramparts* piece, I called on Lasky in London. He said the U.S. government had merely been doing what other countries' cultural bureaucracies did. It had been done through the CIA instead of the U.S. Information Agency so that know-nothings in Congress would not quibble about a budget for financing foreign eggheads. The Congress, Lasky said, had been privately founded in response to a Soviet-financed conference of socialist writers in Berlin in 1950. The notion of government help in those

days of rampant Stalinism, he explained, had seemed reasonable enough at the time. The CIA had been little more than a sleeping partner in Congress, he assured me, providing cash and little else; in turn, Congress control of Forum had been light.

When he spoke, I had no knowledge that Josselson himself was a CIA officer. At the time, there had been no extensive revelations of CIA shenanigans all over the world. The article in a controversial, headline-hunting San Francisco monthly was all anyone had. Vittachi seems to have been uniquely perceptive among the "unwitting" assets at Forum, but he did not share his suspicions with the rest of us at the time. No one else, so far as I know, quit Forum—or quit writing for Forum—because of the *Ramparts* piece.

In 1967, however, I had to consider the possibility that *Information Bulletin*, since it had been a child of Congress, might have been under CIA influence, to say the least, when I was writing my four or five articles a year for Mindlin. I weighed Lasky's arguments and explanations. I had never been censored, nor asked to write something I would not have written for the *Post*, or *The New Republic*, or *The Reporter*. I had not been prominently featured in the service. Was I getting paranoid? Did I even know if *Information Bulletin*, with its tiny budget, which the big foundations could easily afford, had received any Federal money at all, from whatever source? In any event, it was water under the bridge. After all, Forum belonged to Jock Whitney now. No one was suggesting that the *New York Herald-Tribune* had been a CIA front.

I never asked Lasky, or anyone, if Whitney was just a front. It was not just that Lasky, or Crozier, or Eprile, could never have answered in the affirmative, but the thought itself never occurred

to me. On reflection, it seems naive, but when Gaillard branded me an "agent" later that year, I never even considered that Forum might be the reason.

In the light of present knowledge, Gaillard could have had several reasons for thinking of me in CIA terms. I had been friendly with Mercer Cook, the U.S. ambassador in Dakar at that time, who had been a senior Congress official in Paris in the late 1950s. My African history had been published in New York that year by Walker and Company, which was later revealed as having sometimes published books at the request of the CIA. I had written often for *Africa Report* and once for *Survey*, both of which had been funded by the Congress. As far back as 1954, shortly after leaving a staff job with Reuters in Paris, I had become the French correspondent of a new New York weekly publication, *Business International*. Managing editor Elliott Haynes admitted to *The New York Times* in 1977 that on four occasions his father, Eldridge Haynes, gave "BI Correspondent" credentials to CIA officers who wanted cover.

Putting two and two together, Gaillard could well be excused for assuming that I belonged to some arcane network funneling secret information to the United States.

Domestic Penetration

Once established in Dakar in November 1967, I continued to write prolifically for Forum, which occasionally still picked up some of my travel expenses, though these were mostly now paid by American newspapers and magazines.

There was talk of Forum creating a "confidential" African newsletter for me to edit, but nothing came of this. It was presumably deduced that if I became involved with Forum's administration, I just

might penetrate the CIA links. Indeed, the whole question of who was "witting" at Forum probably comes down to just that: there was no point in making anybody "witting" who was not a full-time spook, since anyone else could leave at any time and blow the gaff.

In the summer of 1968, Forum sent me through the Middle East. In September and October, Eprile sent me round the world, with stop-offs in Washington and New York on the return to interview Presidential candidates Nixon and Humphrey on their foreign policies.

But now, over chateau-briand and Mouton-Rothschild in London from time to time, Eprile's conversation turned more and more to money—to making Forum pay. We needed more Japanese, European and, if possible, North American clients.

I asked why Forum had such luxurious offices, why the operation wasn't leaner.

"Apparently that was Brian's idea," Eprile said. "He likes show."

"Why does a struggling syndicate need a four-person research service and library?"

"Brian persuaded Whitney, apparently."

"Then why the hell don't we sell in the United States?"

"Whitney doesn't think we're quite ready to challenge King Features and UPI."

Gately had said much the same when I had quizzed him about the U.S. market. I urged Eprile to keep after Whitney. When I returned from the world trip, he had good news. Whitney himself had persuaded *The Washington Post* to take the service, and the *Post*'s distinguished masthead appeared prominently in the montage on the trendy new packaging for the service adopted that year. The *Post* did not actually subscribe, but it agreed to buy the pieces it liked at regular *Post* rates.

Eventually, according to the Church committee report,

about 30 U.S. papers took Forum on those terms. Whitney, we were told at the time, opposed approaching other major papers beside the *Post*. However, the Church report said that "major U.S. dailies" which took the service were informed that Forum was "CIA-controlled," implying that there were other "heavies" beside the *Post*. An intelligence source, who declines to name the U.S. papers which took Forum, says there were five major dailies, including the *Post*. Drew Middleton recalls Eprile trying unsuccessfully to sell Forum to *The New York Times*.

By its charter, the CIA was not supposed to undertake covert operations inside the United States, such as penetrating domestic media. Were the *Post* and other papers persuaded to take the service simply to help give Forum more credibility and thus aid its sales clout overseas? Or was Eprile arguing that excluding the U.S. on the unconvincing argument that the service wasn't good enough might lead writers and others to suspect the truth—that the equivalent of Congress links had not been cut, and that Forum was, in fact, a front for an agency obliged by charter to operate only overseas? In either case, selling a CIA-funded news service to the American press was clearly a violation of the agency's charter.

In 1968, then-CIA-director Richard Helms had asked for a report on Forum from Cord Meyer, the London station chief. Meyer's answer, procured from a U.S. government source, said:

"Forum World Features (FWF) is an international news feature service located in London and incorporated in Delaware whose overt aim is to provide on a commercial basis a comprehensive weekly service covering international affairs, economics, science and medicine, book reviews and other subjects of a general nature. In its first two

years, it has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist propaganda and has become a respected feature service well on the way to a position of prestige in the journalism world. Begun as a commercial entity in January 1966, FWF was created from the residue of Forum Service, an activity of the Cong. for Cultural Freedom (CCF), from which CIA withdrew its support in 1966."

Handwritten across the bottom of the dispatch are the words: "Run w. the knowledge and cooperation of British intelligence." Perhaps the most curious feature of Meyer's response is that it contains no mention of Whitney, the ostensible owner of FWF.

Calling It Quits

In the summer of 1970, Eprile left for the United States. Crozier brought in Ian Hamilton, a former *Spectator* editor, as Eprile's replacement. A South African, Alan Brown, became editor. Reading the Forum package every week, I could see that it was now taking a decidedly conservative slant—pro-Nixon, hawkish on Indochina, with articles urging "caution" on South Africa. There were frequent pieces by Crozier's highly conservative *Economist* friend, Robert Moss (whose book on Chile, the Church committee found, was subsidized by the CIA) and Lynn Price, a former Foreign Office man with a cold-warrior stance.

By this time, I was the Baltimore *Sun* staff correspondent in Africa and was making plans to return to the United States. It was time for me to call it quits with the syndicate.

Richard Mellon Scaife bought Forum on January 31, 1973. Crozier says today that it was he who "brought in" Scaife. Whether it was a true purchase or just a continuation of a front is not clear. At all costs, Scaife relieved fellow tycoon Whitney of Fo-

rum. He closed Forum down in May 1975, just days before a story in *Time Out*, an alternative London weekly, broke the news that Forum was and always had been a CIA front.

Crozier left Forum in 1974, handing over the top job to Iain Hamilton. Over the years, the large library I had remarked on had become the Current Affairs Research Center. Then, with "Whitney" approval, it had become the Institute for the Study of Conflict, under Crozier's direction, with a book-publishing program. The ISC still exists, although reliable U.S. sources say it has no direct CIA—only British intelligence—links.

Both Crozier and Hamilton deny that Forum closed because its cover was blown. Crozier shows a 1974 exchange of letters with Scaife "proving" he resigned because of pressure of work and because Hamilton could easily replace him, and showing that Scaife "reluctantly" accepted his resignation.

The CIA has never stated publicly that it owned Forum or the Congress, although it no longer denies either assertion. The Church committee report does not mention Forum by name, but committee sources confirm that the news service to which the report referred was in fact Forum.

Gately says today: "If the Congress had anything to do with the Agency, I knew nothing about it." But, he adds, "I have never seen a document from the CIA which says: 'You can say all you want.' And until I see it, I'm just not going to talk about Forum." He insists Forum had no link to the U.S. government; but, in declining to discuss it, he also says, "I'm not going to say anything to harm my country."

All the U.S. citizens closely involved—Mindlin, Gately, Eprile—keep resolutely buttoned lips. The two most involved Britons, Crozier and Hamilton, have handled press queries with all the acumen of

John Mitchell talking to Carl Bernstein. Hamilton, for instance, asked *The Washington Post's* Nossiter cantankerously, "Why don't you write about the KGB?"

Crozier admitted to me that Congress retained a seat on Forum's board after he himself joined, but says he finally abolished it, that he refused to do stories suggested by Congress, and that he threatened to resign in 1966 if Congress didn't get off his back.

A senior British official confirms that British intelligence had approved of the CIA "running" Forum. This official described Crozier's present Institute for the Study of Conflict as an arm of British intelligence. *The New York Times* quoted CIA sources as saying that Crozier also was a "contract employee" (an agent not a full-time officer) of the CIA.

Looking Backward

So, if Forum was a CIA front, how much of what we wrote was censored? Only in the post-Eprile years, with Crozier and Hamilton in full charge, did it take on a manifestly conservative slant. Eprile, it is true, discouraged me from writing about South Africa, on which his views were less liberal than mine; but I accepted this because he came from there, wanted to write about it himself, and also wanted to be able to return to the country.

I was urged to play down guerrilla stories. On March 4, 1969, Eprile wrote to me: "We would be interested in a 'personal' story of how you went into Rhodesia with ZAPU guerrillas, but please be careful not to over glamorize them." Out of about 250 articles which I wrote for Forum, this was one of the three or four paid for but never used. I assume now that the CIA was interested in reading it, not publishing it.

A 1969 article on corruption and discontent in Kenya, a U.S. protege, was also paid

for but not used, ostensibly because of inventory pressure. In 1970, I wrote a story in the *Sun* saying that Mauritania, always considered a French puppet state, was aligning itself with Marxist Algeria to defend itself from Moroccan territorial claims. I said Algeria was about to invite Mauritania to join the Maghreb Union. A few days later, Algiers made it official. I suggested to Forum that I do a "left turn in the Sahara" piece. Again, I was paid but not circulated. In both cases, I think now, the pieces were ordered solely to be read by Cord Meyer's people, but were unpublishable for policy reasons because they were "good for the other side."

Similarly, in 1971, I did a long radio interview, for ABC, with Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers. Forum, informed of the interview, asked for 2,000 words—twice the length of their average pieces. This was paid for at special report rates but never circulated. It would have been cheaper for the CIA to tune in to WMAL-AM, the local ABC affiliate.

In its articles supporting Nixon and the Vietnam war—notably by the former *Newsweek* writer, Yorick Blumenthal—Forum may well have published planted, untrue material, with or without the writer's knowledge that it had come from the Agency. The only clearly false propaganda story I recall seeing in Forum material was in June 1966, when Crozier ordered a piece from Czeslaw Jesman, a right-wing Polish exile, on Soviet influence in Somalia. Jesman's Forum story, which appeared in *The Guardian*, said Moscow was supplying the little country with 150 MiG-17s. I wrote Gately saying the story had to be "bullshit." The true number of planes turned out to be 12. *The Guardian*, but not Forum, ran a correction.

A House committee report says that in its heyday the CIA spent 29 percent of its budget on media and propa-

ganda programs. What links between the CIA and the press are justifiable? Obviously, some are—and more were once. In the Cold War atmosphere of the forties and fifties, no one would have published the Pentagon Papers, and it would have been unthinkable to "burn" a CIA cover. As Mindlin complained to me in 1976: "People just don't take account of the fact that those were different times."

Correspondents cultivate CIA contacts just as they cultivate diplomatic and defense sources—including foreign sources. In the Congo, I once had lunch with two Russian correspondents, at least one of whom was almost certainly KGB, and recounted what I had written in *The Washington Post* about Katanga, where the regime would not let them in. They learned nothing that the Soviet embassy in Washington had not already read, but it enabled them to look good in the eyes of their editors and others in Moscow. In return, I figured that one of them might help me one day in Guinea or Somalia, if only by telling me how to spell the local Soviet general's name. Instead, one of them later gave me a 24-hour beat on the arrival of Soviet aircraft to help Lumumba put down a provincial rising. I passed on the information to the U.S. ambassador, whom thereafter I could call on almost whenever I liked. This is how correspondents work.

What is legitimate in all this is that the journalist is witting about his source and is free to evaluate the material. At worst, he may be deceived into thinking that a CIA man is actually a diplomat, but overseas the difference means little. What was totally unethical about Forum World Features was that the agency duped both Forum's clients and correspondents, and did it by prostituting a few professional journalists who consented to dupe their colleagues. ■

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TIMESPEAK: HIDDEN PERSUADERS

Newsmagazine Marshals Rhetorical Devices In Special Report on Socialism

Learning a thing or two from Aristotle.

BY MICHAEL SORKIN

Fifty-two times a year, the editors of *Time* select a story for the magazine's cover. Whether the subject is John Travolta, Cheryl Tiegs, or Anwar el-Sadat, *Time's* imprimatur guarantees its importance for the magazine's 20 million domestic and 8 million international readers. The sequence of *Time* cover subjects constitutes a version of the history of our era that, for millions, is definitive.

The cover of the March 13 issue, devoted to "A Special Report" on socialism, was, in many respects, just another card in *Time's* annual deck. But it was a card in the magazine's trump suit—part of the continuing civics lesson to the world first articulated by Henry Luce. The March 13 cover story was described as an effort to "sort out" socialism, a system, said the magazine, that directly affects the lives of 42 percent of the world's population living in 53 of its countries. Despite the monumental proportions of the subject, the challenge was apparently not an unusual one for *Time*, which has done covers on such matters as the death of God and the computerization of American society. As Managing Editor Ray Cave says, the topic presented "no particular complications." Indeed, according to Associate Editor Burton Pines, the writer of the report, the piece was done "no differently than the way we do any sizable story."

The report was begun over a year ago, after Pines, World Editor John Elson, and Corporate Editor Henry Grunwald agreed to go ahead. Queries flew to 24 *Time* correspondents around the world, and dispatches flowed back to form a "foot-high pile" in New York. Pines was relieved of other duties to pursue the story, Elson was assigned to edit it, and a team of researchers began an assiduous search for facts and statistics. The project was finally published more than 12 months and thousands of editorial hours later.

Running some 1700 lines over 11 pages, the story was intended to let people know "what's going on in socialism today," according to Pines. To this end, it describes the reasons for socialism's influence and reviews its "promise compared with [its] performance." Norway, Tanzania, and Hungary—countries which *Time* considers exemplary of what it describes as the three major forms of socialism—get one-page case studies. The cover features a brigade of painters and plasterers repairing giant, battered, three-dimensional letters spelling "socialism," all arrayed on a darkling plane. Inside, the graphic centerpiece of the story is a world map, covering most of a two-page spread, which shows each nation's "Economic System," "Per Capita GNP," "Political Freedom In-

dex," and "Physical Quality of Life Index." But what gives the story its real interest is the way in which *Time* mobilizes these and other rhetorical devices to accomplish its project of scrutinizing socialism.

For most people, the word "rhetoric" bears negative connotations. It is the tool of blowhards, politicians, and attorneys, the contrivance of scoundrels. But this dim view did not prevail in the days of rhetoric's greatest glory. Like most ideas, the Greeks thought of it first. For them, it was an art, the art of persuasion, conducted according to fixed principles, much as courtroom debate today proceeds by well-known, formalized means. Rhetoric was simply the collection of devices by which an argument was advanced, embracing such matters as style, selection of evidence, tone, and authority.

Aristotle, who, as they say, wrote the book, distinguished three branches of the art. "Deliberative" rhetoric was to deal with questions of policy, "forensic" with "accusation and defense," and the third variety, "epideictic," with the big questions of virtue and vice. Depending on use, there might be good rhetoric and bad. The good rhetorician persuaded by a masterful and cogent presentation of the facts, the bad by distorting and misrepresenting them. Aristotle observed that many people preferred legal rhetoric since, as he put it, "it offers more opportunity for irrelevance and chicanery." Epideictic rhetoric, he wrote, was also susceptible to misuse, since it offered the speaker or writer the chance "to produce a certain impression as to his own moral character."

Self-Legitimation

In the March 13 issue on socialism, the rhetoric begins even before the story itself with the "Letter from the Publisher." The letter introduces the general conclusions of the Special Report, describes the intellectual *bona fides* of those involved, and validates—by praising them—the editorial process and its results. *Time's* editorial research is described as "formidable," the interest of its correspondents as "deep" and "ongoing," and the map as "remarkable." A picture of the Eastern Europe bureau chief chatting with a Rumanian peasant rounds out this exercise in self-legitimation. In the body of the story, *Time* continues to reassure the reader by describing its own analysis as "careful and balanced." The texture of the piece also reinforces the sense of *Time's* omniscience: most of the major quotations introduced to support the story come from the magazine's own correspondents. The information in these quotations is neither specialized nor privileged, and their prose does not differ markedly from that surrounding them; presenting it in this form simply conveys a sense of the lengths

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Illustration by Tracy Garner



to which *Time* has gone. This device casts other, non-quoted information, in a similar light. And, it allows *Time* to establish itself as its own best authority.

Mystique Of The Inverted Comma

Time, of course, uses quotations from people other than its own correspondents. The magazine has a hierarchy of quotable sources which it uses for specialized purposes. Common people ("a Tanzanian," "Ragnhild Braathen, a Telemark housewife") are marshaled to defend middle class values and corroborate *Time's* views on the quality of life. ("We only work, work, work.") Scholars and experts ("Rome University Historian Rosario Romeo," "Nobel-Prizewinning Economist Milton Friedman") are employed to make significant generalizations and draw important conclusions. ("Everyone imagines socialism in his own way.") *Time* shows a special reverence for professors, setting them up with capitalized titles and disciplines in front of their names for added au-

thority. Particular weight is given to the apostate scholar or theoretician, and the piece is liberally sprinkled with the views of dissident and reformed socialists. Political leaders ("Britain's Labor Prime Minister James Callaghan," "Socialist Leader Francois Mitterrand") are called upon to make statements characteristic of positions the reader has just been told they are likely to hold. Quoted sources, in short, repeat and corroborate; experts never disagree with the magazine's analysis. For *Time*, the function of authorities is largely to validate its own authority.

Quotation is a special form of evidence in the *Time* rhetorical scheme, and the manner in which it is used is more characteristic of the techniques of scholarly evidence than of journalism. In newspaper reporting, quotations are initially part of the news: what public officials say, for example, is precisely what is being reported on. For that part of the press still unaffected by newsmagazine style, what is said is part of the narrative of reporting. But

in scholarly writing, quotation is used to illustrate and to prove a point: it is the evidence that supports an argument. Scholarship, however, is always supported by a "scholarly apparatus," the implicit assertion of a footnote being that a scholar is willing to have his or her use of a reference verified. *Time* uses quotations in the style of scholarship, but without its substance, without its attitude toward sources. It defends its assertions with unattributed quotations ("a Budapest journalist") and uses scholars as if merely knowing their often obscure names were proof enough of their scholarly authority.

The force behind a quotation is also manipulated by subtle distortions of its context. Since *Time* is not bound by normal rules of attribution, it seems to make a point of introducing every quotation as if it were addressed directly to *Time*. Sources always "say," "explain," "tell," "put it," or "add" (indeed, people "add" to other people's quotations though they may never have heard them). Never, it seems, does a source "write"

or "put it in an article in *Encounter*" (where *Time* found one of its quotations from Raymond Aron) or "state in a published document" (where the magazine found something from President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania). The implicit suggestion that all of these quotes were wrenched from all those people on the occasion of this story lends credibility to the inquiry, immediacy to the account, and luster to the image of *Time's* power and ability. Quotation is a means of factualizing opinion: *Time* employs the mystique of the inverted comma to validate both the authorities it invokes and its own reporting.

Simplified Argumentation

Ray Cave says that *Time* tried to keep the story's frame of reference "fairly simple." The simple device by which *Time* does this is to focus "on socialism's promise compared with performance." In doing so, it reduces socialism's promise to platitudes—egalitarianism, universal love, the transformation of all peo-



ple into "the secular equivalent of saints"—so vague that their impossibility becomes obvious. Capitalism, too, is oversimplified, constantly described as pragmatic, sensible, and in touch with "reality." The battle lines are drawn: "capitalist reality" vs. "the socialist dream."

Having so simplified, *Time* finds that it is not socialism that is attractive to 42 percent of the world's population, in fact, but "socialist rhetoric." Socialism is the century's "most pervasive political ideology—or slogan..." it informs the reader, so much so that it is now even "chic to use the socialist label."

Simplified argumentation leads to the identification of "socialism" with the "socialist label." It thus becomes reasonable for *Time* to analyze socialism by studying the "self-proclaimed socialists of one variety or another [who rule] 53 of the world's sovereign states . . ."—in short, anyone who affixes this label to himself.

If socialism is a label, reading labels is the obvious way to learn about it. *Time* therefore cites vague bromides on

the subject from appropriate authorities. Callaghan of Britain says socialism is "a society based on cooperation." Senghor of Senegal says that it is "the rational organization of human society according to the most scientific, the most modern, and the most efficient methods." And, says a pop song from Jamaica ("pulsating with reggae beat"), "Socialism is love for your brother/Socialism is linking hearts and hands/Love and togetherness—that's what it means."

Can History Survive?

Socialism's theoretical underpinnings are thus reduced to a few slogans and a few words about its "debt" to Karl Marx. Socialism is presented without its theory and its history: in the *Time* version, it does not seem to have developed or evolved; rather, to use Ishmael Reed's phrase, it seems it "jes grew." Thus, *Time's* plan to judge socialism according to its promise becomes an exercise in judging it against its slogans. The reader cannot measure socialism's progress against its his-

tory, therefore, because it is presented to him ahistorically. Never mind, *Time* seems to say, that Tanzania only emerged from colonialism in the early 1960s, or that 30 years ago China was a feudal society.

Questioned about the absence of history and theory, the *Time* authors attributed it to inadequate space and journalistic priorities. But, when *Time* devoted a 1975 cover story to the question, "Can Capitalism Survive?" many pages were spent on capitalist history and theory. The piece discussed major figures (Malthus, Ricardo, Keynes) and their theories, even providing a profile of Adam Smith along with a sidebar of his philosophy. A panoply of topics was discussed, including 18th-century mercantilism, 19th-century factories, and the Great Depression. History, in short, is a device *Time* deploys when it chooses.

The Designated Value

A rhetorician, like a baseball manager, likes to be able

to send to bat the argument most likely to get a hit off the opposition. Batting against socialism, for example, *Time* sends the standard of middle class consumption to the plate in almost every inning, comparing socialism not with its own promise, but with the values of our own consumer society.

Time pursues the comparison relentlessly, never pausing to consider that "autos per 1,000" or "per capita GNP" may not be the most important items on every socialist agenda. Praise is assigned to states that most closely mimic western institutions: "Yugoslavia seems to have...the least rigidly controlled economy in Eastern Europe.... They also turn out an abundance of consumer products that make Belgrade, Zagreb, and other large Yugoslav cities look more Western European than Balkan." In *Time* rhetoric, "more Western European than Balkan" constitutes praise. In its study of "Hungary: A Taste of Luxury—Central planning with an old capitalist trick," *Time* hunts for such "capitalist tricks," and finds that "ele-

gant cafes and restaurants serve rich pastries and gourmet meals without the sullen service all too common in other Eastern European cities." The adjectives emphasized here tell the story: the battle of ideologies is rhetorically reduced to a question of service.

Categories

Time identifies socialism as a slogan, and slogans, of course, have no theories. It therefore becomes necessary to create a theory of slogans: even a label has to be read. Here, *Time's* principal tool is taxonomy. To explain socialism, *Time* divides it. Putatively socialist societies are assigned to one of three camps: "Marxism-Leninism," "Social Democracy," or "Third World Socialism." At first glance this seems a reasonable exercise, since taxonomy, after all, is a traditional key to understanding. But such classification creates spurious associations, since *Time's* own rhetoric of argumentation requires that every state that calls itself socialist needs to be classified, no matter how hollow the claim.

Had *Time* attempted to do a cover story on democracy applying the same rhetorical logic, every state proclaiming itself democratic would have had to be included. *Time's* propensity for the oxymoron notwithstanding, would it have stopped short of "The Totalitarian Democracies," "The Mixed Democracies," and "The Feudal Democracies"? And where would they have placed East Germany, which calls itself the German Democratic Republic?

The Big Map

The story's visual centerpiece and rhetorical apotheosis is the two-page map of "The World's Economic Systems," of which there are, for *Time*, five: the three socialist variants, capitalist, and mixed. This new taxonomic rhet-

oric immediately gets *Time* into trouble. Britain, which has capitalist institutions, is a "social democratic" economy here, while Sweden, far more social democratic, is colored "mixed." This has happened because the British Labor Party won its last election, while the Social Democratic Party in Sweden didn't. Of course, this makes a political difference, but not an economic one.

The map also classifies a third world country like Cuba as Marxist-Leninist, while classifying the Marxist-Leninist government of Mozambique as Third World Socialist. It lumps together the economic systems of Hungary and Laos (Marxist-Leninist) and those of Finland and Surinam (Social Democratic). Confusion becomes total if the reader turns to the 1975 capitalism story. West Germany, in the socialism story a social democratic economy, three years ago was paired with the United States in the "American-German" system, "the most purely capitalist" of all.

To this multi-colored taxonomy are added three sets of statistics: Per Capita GNP, Physical Quality of Life Index, and Political Freedom Index. These quantify *Time's* conclusions in the text (including, ironically, "quality" of life) and add to their force by representing them with apparent statistical precision. For most people, statistics bespeak science and science be-speaks objectivity and truth.

While conveying this impression, *Time* uses the numbers rhetorically, to prove a point the statistics aren't really designed to prove.

The Physical Quality of Life Index, for example, was borrowed from the Overseas Development Council, which created it as a weighted average of life expectancy, literacy, and infant mortality. But Drew Reynolds, council research coordinator, expressed unease about the magazine's use of his data. "These figures

were never intended for such broadly comparative purposes," he says. "*Time* was comparing things that weren't meant for comparison. The index is designed to compare the Indias and the Bangladeshes, but when you compare the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. that way, it leaves kind of a bad taste in your mouth."

The Political Freedom Index has similar problems. It is drawn from the annual Freedom House "Comparative Survey of Freedom," in which the Manhattan-based foundation evaluates worldwide political rights and civil liberties on a one-to-seven scale. For the purposes of its map, however, *Time* converted these numbers into a new index running from zero (least free) to one hundred (most free). Raymond Gastil, survey director at Freedom House, was also upset about *Time's* misuse of his data. "It makes it look like we can break these things down finer than we really can," he complains. It also makes the numbers seem more like grades, and the gaps between the countries appear wider. This rhetoric of statistics raises numerous questions: are the Chinese (at 17 points) really more than twice as free as the Russians (at 8)? And are the Argentinians (also at 17 points) exactly as free? And what sense does it make to have only one Freedom Index for a place like South Africa?

Language

Everyone knows about the way *Time* writes: the smug tone, the mannered terseness, the show-off vocabulary, the alliteration, the self-conscious wit. *Time* style has long since become the norm for the newsmagazine genre. But if *Time* makes a regressive contribution to literary language, it nonetheless does so with enormous care. Socialists not only plan, they "concoct"; they rarely have governments, they have "regimes";

Marx's laws of history were not scientific, they were "scientific." Adjectives are, when necessary, weighted and characterizations snide: socialism promises to yield a new man "emotionally and psychologically unfettered and bursting with creativity." The sarcasm is slight but sufficient. And when *Time* is ready to signal for assent, it goes directly to the point. If *Time* describes something as "a strong argument," it means it. When *Time* clears its throat and announces that something is "an apparent lesson of history," it means that, too. And if the reader sees the word "reason" followed by a colon, he'd better believe that reason follows.

In and of itself, this rhetoric—like that in every issue of *Time*—is neither good nor bad. It is simply a body of devices the magazine uses to make its point. What is at issue is not *Time's* view of socialism, or capitalism, or Cheryl Tiegs, but how the magazine leads the reader to accept whatever this view happens to be. In part, at least, it is the rhetoric of citation that establishes its authority, the rhetoric of argumentation that sets its style, and the rhetoric of categories that structures its analysis. These and the other rhetorics—of history, value, cartography, diction—together convey its opinions.

In the hands of a skilled practitioner, rhetoric allows its user to find, in a given mass of evidence, precisely what he is looking for. Consider the following question: Is *Time's* group journalism the highest form of socialism? Now consider the evidence: the anonymous circumstances of production, the stifled creativity, the official line, the official style, the secrecy and security, the suppression of individual initiative, the conformity, the slogans and rhetoric, the bureaucracy, the privileged elite, the lavish perks for the trusted apparatchiks. Let the *Time* reader beware. ■

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286 pp., \$3.25

BY BOB GOTTLIEB

"If I were to be granted one point of foreign policy and no other," John Foster Dulles remarked at the height of the Cold War, "I would make it the free flow of information." For decades, this concept has been the centerpiece of the ideology of American media and the international information order. But, in fact, ever since World War II, this free flow of information has been a one-way flow.

The pervasive influence of American media around the world can be read in the following figures:

- The Associated Press claims that its dispatches

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reach one billion people every day, and United Press International news is translated into 48 languages;

- Exports of American films now generate 49 percent of the industry's total revenue—an estimated \$600 million last year in overseas rentals;
- Foreign revenues for the American television industry, \$180 million in 1976, represent 24 percent of the industry total;

• *Reader's Digest* has a monthly foreign circulation of 12 million, while *Time* magazine's international editions are sold in 145 countries and generate more revenue than *Cosmopolitan*'s entire operation.

But, at the point of its greatest international penetration, the American media is now fighting a global information war. "Throughout the world," former acting director of the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy John Eger wrote recently in *The Washington Post*, "the free flow of information is under fire."

The attack comes from diverse sources: from third world nations fearful of losing their cultural integrity; from critics who see a relation between the profit motives of American media giants and their promotion of the "American way of life"; from Western nations such as Canada, whose businessmen re-

sent the flow of media dollars to the United States; and from an American professor, Herbert Schiller, perhaps the most incisive critic of the American media's overseas role.

Schiller, head of the communications program at the University of California at San Diego, has written and lectured extensively on the media since the late 1960s. His first book, *Mass Communications and American Empire*, published in 1969, explored the impact of satellite technology on international control of communication systems. His 1973 book, *The Mind Managers*, analyzed the manipulative potential of the advertising, polling, tourism, and information technology industries. *Communication and Cultural Domination*, published in 1976 and reissued this month in paperback, offers a dense, analytical sketch of the questions at issue in the global information war.

Schiller has become increasingly popular throughout Europe and the third world. His books have been translated into eight languages. He is a frequent speaker at UNESCO conferences and other international symposia, and he has taught in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In this country, however, Schiller has been virtually ignored. His books have never been reviewed in *The New York Times* or *The New York Review of Books*; he is not asked to testify at Congressional hearings; and the only people who follow his work, aside from academics, are his antagonists in business and government who see Schiller as domestic enemy number one.

According to Schiller's analysis, the media has become increasingly important to the political economy of American capitalism. He cites a study by a government-appointed panel on international information and cultural relations, chaired by former CBS President Frank Stanton,

which reported that, "While the United States retains considerable, perhaps predominant, power in international affairs, the capacity of America to dictate the course of international affairs has diminished. This means that the United States will have to count more than ever on explanation and persuasion. The new premium on persuasion makes cultural diplomacy essential to the achievement of American policy goals."

Among the key American policy objectives, Schiller argues, is making the world safe for American investment and trade. More than 50 years ago, a motion picture industry prospectus from the investment house of Halsey, Stuart & Co. explicitly linked media penetration and economic policy: "American export manufacturers as well as foreign competitors have been amazed by the tremendous business-building potency of the foreign showing of American pictures. What the people of the world see their screen heroes wear, and eat, and use, they want for themselves. . . . Business follows the film much more dependably than it follows the flag."

By the 1970s, the Halsey, Stuart notion—now also applied to television, satellite technology, and more globally oriented print media—had been transformed into a working ideology of development and "modernization." John Magee, president of Arthur D. Little, the management consulting firm, offered the current version of the Halsey, Stuart analysis to the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Operations in June 1977. "Developing countries see the need for modern communications," he testified, "and the impact is dramatically evident. . . . It seems as though every Arab has a transistor radio. Riyadh, which once seemed so remote, is now just a telephone call away from our office at home. The telephone and telex, and ultimately the television ex-

change between here and Saudi Arabia, are creating an entirely different climate for international understanding, cooperation, and trade."

As Schiller sees it, the key to American communications policy is the insistence that other countries imitate the structure of American industry in organizing their own media systems. This entails private ownership, the presence of commercial advertising, and "professional" work structures, i.e. the creation of an elite of media professionals who control access to print and the airwaves.

Private ownership is the most important of these conditions, both for its ideological value, and because it tends to promote a business climate receptive to American interests. Furthermore, as Schiller pointed out in a recent speech at the National University in Mexico City, "U.S. policy recognizes the inestimable value of having the informational circuits of a nation open to and reliant on advertising." Advertising, he continued, is expensive and, therefore, most accessible to large multinational corporations. He cited an East-West Communication Institute study of advertising on Indonesian television which concluded that the most remembered commercials were all for Western products—Coca-Cola, Lux, Rinsso, Pepsodent, and Raid. "Commercialization of the information system," Schiller concluded, "automatically leads to its subjugation, through financing, to the most powerful sector of the private economy, often, but not exclusively, foreign-based."

The introduction of "professional" standards, another element in the free-flow structure, helps to strengthen a domestic elite often responsive to foreign interests. "Professionalization" entails specialization, says Schiller, and "Specialization...itself depends on differential training and unequal rewards. It becomes the basis for hierarchi-

Illustration by Tom Hatchman



cal structuring and elitist concepts, the ultimate underpinning of domination."

The concept of domination is the core of Schiller's analysis. He points out that the mechanisms of economic domination—control of capital, market penetration, and international financial institutions—are now widely understood. Cultural domination, on the other hand, has only recently attracted the attention of governments, academics, international organizations, and, in response, the American telecommunications industry.

According to Schiller, cultural domination signifies control of the forces and institutions that influence consciousness in a society, control of the "decisive determinants of a community's outlook and the nature and direction of its

goals." Domination "once derived matter-of-factly from control of the flow of capital and access to the informational apparatus that it guaranteed," he notes. But third world calls for a new economic order mean that this can no longer be taken for granted. "The struggle to overcome domination," as he puts it, ". . . is the central, if not always recognized, issue in contemporary communications policy making."

The free-flow controversy is at the heart of the third world's struggle against cultural domination. Calls for a new economic order are increasingly accompanied by demands for a new information order.

A number of U.S. media corporations are now in deep trouble overseas. The film industry, for example, has become increasingly concerned

about European and third world initiatives to gain control over domestic production, distribution, and exhibition. New taxes on American imports have been levied, and several countries—including such lucrative markets as Brazil—now have film import quotas for American productions.

Some third world nations have also decided to curtail the power of the foreign news agencies, whose coverage they feel reflects the interests and prejudices of their American and European owners. They have simultaneously restricted the access of news agency correspondents and created a Third World News Agency, enabling such countries to obtain news of each other without Western intermediaries.

U.S. media corporations have denounced these strate-

gies as anti-democratic and a violation of a 1946 United Nations resolution declaring that freedom of information "implies the right to gather, transmit, and publish news anywhere and everywhere without fetters." Free-flow supporters criticize Schiller's notion that the concept masks ideological and economic interests. On the contrary, they argue, free flow is a neutral principle, a cornerstone of freedom, however construed.

The defense of the free-flow principle received an enormous boost when the Senate Subcommittee on International Operations held three days of hearings last June, subsequently published under the title, *The Implications of International Communications and Information*. Chaired by George McGovern, the hearings brought together government, academic, business, and media-industry spokesmen to explore responses to the threats to free flow. "If the United States is to exert world leadership in this pressing aspect of human rights . . ." government communication specialist William Harley stated at the hearings, it must "take the lead in initiating and supporting programs in the international area which will demonstrate that free flow of information is not a subterfuge for commercial exploitation, as has been charged, but a concept vital to the well-being of all peoples of the world."

The witnesses represented the beneficiaries of the free-flow doctrine: Jack Valenti, President of the Motion Picture Association of America; Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc.; Otis Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*; William Sheehan, then head of ABC news; John Reinhardt, then director of USIA; and former CIA Director William Colby. Herbert Schiller was not invited.

The message brought by these witnesses was consistent and specific: a campaign in defense of free flow had to be launched, a campaign as cru-

cial as any defense of a strategic resource. As Time Chairman Heiskell told the committee, "...if our government can help formulate policies . . . it will be taking a giant step for the well-being of our nation and of the world."

The defense of this principle has not always been so unanimous. In an afterword to *Communication and Cultural Domination*, Schiller describes what happened in Chile from 1970 to 1973 when Salvador Allende was in power. Under Allende, the "marketplace of ideas" was wide open. Contending points of view openly battled in the media for the allegiance of Chile's large and literate middle class.

Many of today's most fervent advocates of free flow, however, were working against it in Chile. The American film industry organized

boycotts, the United States government, through the CIA, pumped money into the anti-Allende press and helped orchestrate a destabilizing information campaign as part of its overall strategy. The ensuing military coup, nurtured by this campaign, put an end to the "open marketplace" of ideas when the junta banned publications, burned books, and murdered media workers.

Schiller argues that the American government and the communications industry found free flow threatening in Allende's Chile. "When, as a result of the emergent strength of popular forces," Schiller writes, "a genuinely open forum for ideas does develop, in which a systematic exposition of critical thinking can challenge conventional, property views, those espousing the latter find the competition, if it

leads to social action, intolerable."

When the ideological myths are blown away, in other words, the struggle over the media becomes overtly political. This conflict, Schiller argues, "has now moved into the communications-cultural sphere in an explicit way; and the emergence of national communications policies is the reflection of generally still unresolved battles between contradictory interests and demands in the cultural-informational sector."

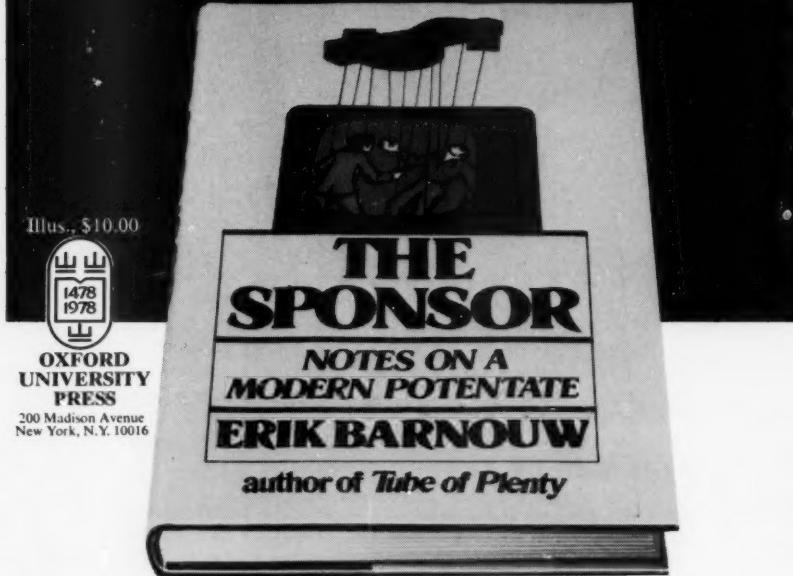
As William Colby testified to the Foreign Relations subcommittee in June 1977, "Clearly, information is power, and traditionally the country or individual who controlled it unilaterally had an advantage over his fellows and adversaries." Herbert Schiller couldn't agree more. ■

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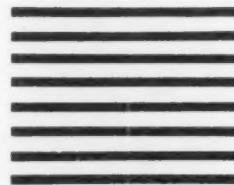
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LAW

THE PERILS OF S. 1437

New Criminal Code Bill Threatens Press Freedoms

72 Senators vote to gut First Amendment.

BY NAT HENTOFF

The story most bungled by the media for the past year and a half is a story that directly affects the press—as well as all other citizens protected by the Bill of Rights.

On January 30, the Senate passed the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1978 (S. 1437) by the generous margin of 72 to 15. The bill is now in the House (in two versions, H.R. 6869 and H.R. 2311), and, should it pass, the most extensive revision of Federal criminal law in the nation's history will have been effected amid the populace's nearly total ignorance of what's going on.

The Senate bill was huge—682 pages—and so is its impact, for this legislation covers just about all the ways that Federal law enforcement can affect individual liberties. Yet it is extremely doubtful—in view of the casual, superficial coverage of S. 1437 and its House counterpart—that the great majority of newspaper readers and television-news watchers know of the bill's manifold assaults on the Constitution, and especially on the First Amendment.

Before focusing on the

Nat Hentoff is on the staff of The Village Voice. He also serves on the steering committee of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and the board of directors of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

press sections in S. 1437, here is a considerably foreshortened list of the bill's other astonishing provisions. (It might be mildly challenging for the readership of this publication to test its own awareness of these decisively hard-news items.)

- The presumption of innocence, the most basic premise of American justice, has been overturned. For the first time, pre-trial release on bail can be denied those accused of certain egregious crimes (murder, rape, kidnapping, major heroin trafficking). Preventive detention has now been legitimated on a national scale—but without the slightest national debate.

- A potential dragnet has been cast over future demonstrating dissenters through a section titled, "Obstructing a Government Function by Physical Interference." Says the American Civil Liberties Union, "Virtually every strike, picketing activity, or mass demonstration at or near a Federal facility would arguably fall within its broad language," which penalizes "impairing" any Federal government function.

- Federal jurisdiction over crimes—from intrastate robberies to intrastate selling of a pornographic novel by a drug-store clerk—is greatly expanded, at the expense of local law enforcement agencies. So enormous is this expansion that on the day of the Senate

vote, Senator Alan Cranston warned that the Department of Justice will now be given a "monolithic prosecutorial and investigative jurisdiction capable of reaching virtually every nook and cranny of American life." This, in turn, will inevitably and inexorably require a national police force to do all the vastly increased Federal investigating. And that means an expanded FBI.

- There's much more of chilling news value: advanced models of slippery conspiracy and solicitation statutes; the cementing into a *reform* code of the gutting of the Fifth Amendment through enforced "immunity"; and the weakening of *Miranda* protections of defendants' rights.

The press's particular First Amendment stake in this bill is clear from Section 6035, which incorporates existing but unenforced statutes making it a felony to mail or import "every written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly . . . where or by whom any act or operation of any kind for the procuring or producing of abortion will be done or performed."

Imagine that! Seventy-two Senators voted for changing the language of the First Amendment to read: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press except for information about abortion." Surely that was worth a front page box or 20 seconds of television time.

The bill contains numerous other assaults on the press's First Amendment rights—many embedded in language so murky that it will take serpentine court litigation to assess the bill's full meaning—and other clear and present dangers as well.

For example, it will become a crime for a reporter or a news organization to refuse to obey an *illegal* court order requiring the disclosure of confidential sources or the handing

over of notes and outtakes (Section 1331). The rationale: it is a criminal act to "disobey or resist a . . . command of a court," even if that order is later declared void. There is a loophole through which not even a reborn camel could pass. A reporter can escape the slammer if he can convince a court that the initial order was "invalid" and that he "took reasonable and expeditious steps to obtain judicial review." The latter provision is meaningless, because the contempt order always comes simultaneously with the refusal to testify. And the concept of an itinerant journalist prayerfully asking an appeals court to give him the releasing words, "constitutionally invalid," has elements of pathos, but hardly facilitates the free flow of news.

Then there is the bill's resolute determination to silence "whistle-blowers" (Section 1525). It will be unlawful for a current or former government employee to give the press information about government or non-government crime, or other news, based on information that has been submitted to the government by a citizen or corporation—that is, information which is not supposed to be released under any "statute . . . regulation, rule, or order."

In its testimony on the bill before the House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press pointed out that "every agency in the government has a network of regulations, rules, and orders requiring its information to be kept confidential." And, the Reporters Committee continued, under this bill, "even the Justice Department concedes that any time a government employee leaks to the press any information 'provided to the government by' car makers, drug companies, housing contractors, defense contractors, hospitals, etc., in confidence, he can be criminally prosecuted and jailed for

one year."

Since government employees are no braver than the average citizen, what this part of the bill will effectively accomplish is the reduction of "whistle-blowing" to a very occasional peep. Yet, says the Reporters Committee, "Except for some narrow categories of information such as trade secrets, patents, and atomic energy information, a government employee, as a citizen, should be free to give to the press government information even if it is in violation of departmental regulations." Boldly spoken, but the House is not at all likely to be more liberal than the Senate on this matter.

Section 1324 of the bill seeks to penalize the press in a way that is entirely new to the Federal Criminal Code. Reporters or news organizations will be subject to criminal penalties if they "improperly" subject a witness before Congress, the courts, or any agency to "economic loss or injury to his business or profession... because of any testimony given, or any record, document, or other object produced."

That is, printing or broadcasting a news report or an editorial based on what a witness says, or brings in by way of records, can be a crime if it damages the witness and if a court determines the news organization has acted "improperly." The penalty is a year in jail, and it is an insufficient defense simply to prove that the statement was true. There is no definition of "improper"; and, even if there were, this section is so stunning a reversal of the spirit and letter of the First Amendment that it is rather fearsome to see 72 Senators casually passing a bill with so crude an attack on the most elemental press freedom—to report and criticize what takes place in public.

Yet another attack on the First Amendment is aimed at book and magazine publishing. For the first time in Federal law, this new obscenity

Illustration by Larry Weil



statute (Section 3311) locks into the criminal code all the rampant confusion and the possibilities for prosecutorial entrapment created by the Supreme Court's 1973 *Miller* decision. (Overturning the doctrine of a national standard for obscenity convictions, the Court, by a 5-4 vote, established the amorphous notion that each "community" should set its own standards.)

Under S. 1437, a publisher or distributor can be prosecuted in any city or town to which his allegedly obscene publication has been sent. That is how Al Goldstein was pilloried in Wichita. The eventual result, now that this has been planted into Federal law, could be, as the ACLU puts it, that "the strictest local

view of what 'appeals to the prurient interest' would effectively determine the content of nationally distributed books, magazines, newspapers, and films." How many costly battles in the more righteous hamlets would it take before even the hardiest New York publisher might decide to tone down certain material if he is to stay in business?

So, it will now say in the Federal Criminal Code that the First Amendment means one thing in New York, something else in Wichita, and who knows what in Salt Lake City. William O. Douglas, who was a dissenter in the *Miller* decision, confessed himself puzzled as to how this could be. "It's the same First Amend-

ment," he said, "on the Ohio and on the Hudson." Not any more it isn't.

Although the First Amendment has been mangled in S.1437, much worse was done to it in previous manifestations of the Criminal Code Reform Act which never got past the Senate. That earlier form was much more horrendous does not excuse the press's dozing through the bill now in the House, but the comparison may explain journalists' lack of primal outrage now. If you have escaped a ravening bear, I suppose that a broken leg sustained in the flight may seem like a blessing.

Here, a brief history may place the current performance of the press in perspective. In 1966, Congress created the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws under the chairmanship of former Governor Edmund Brown of California. Unquestionably, there were inconsistencies in both statutory and case law, and the commission came back in 1971 with recommendations for a uniform new code. Richard Nixon turned that report over to a team of Justice Department lawyers headed by civil libertarian John Mitchell and, later, Richard Kleindienst.

The resulting Criminal Code Reform Act (S. 1400) appeared in 1973. One of its provisions established an American equivalent of the British Official Secrets Act. It would have been criminal to disclose or to publish classified information—that is, to report whatever the government declared to be unreportable.

Nixon's S. 1400 proved such an embarrassingly blunt instrument that Senators John McClellan and Roman Hruska intervened with a somewhat refined version, the now notorious S.1. It also set up an Official Secrets Act, under which both the leaker and the recipient of classified documents would have been liable to criminal penalties, although those penalties were some-

what less stringent than those in the original bill. Had S. 1 been law during the Pentagon Papers furor, Daniel Ellsberg and all newspaper publishers, editors, and reporters involved in disseminating Ellsberg's Xeroxes could have been imprisoned. Gradually, in large part because of press clamor, the bill died in committee in 1976.

The next year, Jimmy Carter's Justice Department became intrigued with the possibility of finally having a new, nicely symmetrical, uniform Federal code, and greatly encouraged a "compromise" Senate bill to that end, eventually co-managed by Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond. And that is how S. 1437 took baleful shape.

Not only did S. 1437 remove the inflammatory Official Secrets Act, but,

through the Senate Judiciary Committee, various sections repugnant to press organizations were excised or modified. For example, the original bill had made it a crime to publish a news story or an editorial in violation of a court-imposed gag order, even if that order was later held to be illegal. Under the changed bill, a paper hit with a gag order can go ahead and publish, and its ultimate defense to contempt charges for violating the gag can be that the order was "invalid and constituted a prior restraint on the collection or dissemination of news."

Even though the press did win such improvements in the bill, it remains, as I have indicated, a minefield for the maiming of civil liberties, including the first and foremost item in the Bill of Rights. Yet, except for the *Los Angeles*

Times, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, most papers have either ignored or lauded the bill in their editorial pages, with *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* supplying particularly influential comfort to Kennedy and Thurmond in their efforts to "reform" Federal criminal law. *The New York Times*, for instance, has called this "rational code" a "major achievement" for the Senate and has lambasted the House for lacking "a sense of urgency" about finishing this great work during the 95th Congress.

The bill's prognosis in the House is unclear. No one doubts that, if the code gets to the floor, it will pass. The only question is whether enough of an alarm can be sounded by the citizenry to terminate the bill in the Judiciary Commit-

tee. It is hard, however, to arouse the populace when the press has gone to lunch. And, with regard to S. 1437, the press has been out to lunch for many months.

The consequences of this press inattentiveness were distilled recently in the *Los Angeles Times*: "To put Congress's stamp on laws that infringe on press freedom and other liberty would give government a new base from which to proceed toward further encroachment."

The odds now are that this is exactly what is going to happen. A pity. For, as James Madison said, it is "to the press alone, chequered as it is with abuse, that the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have been gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression."

That is, when the press is awake. ■

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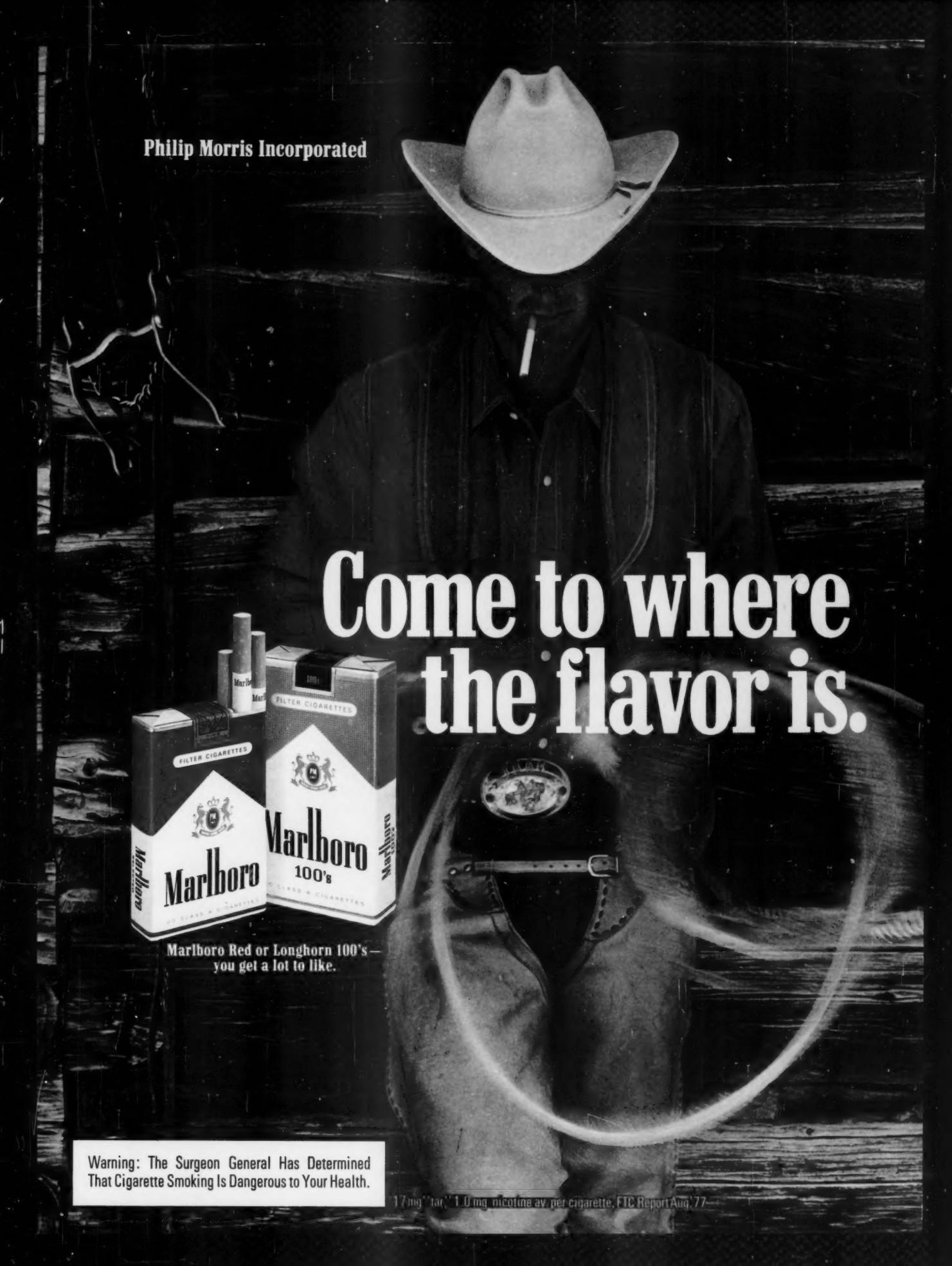
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